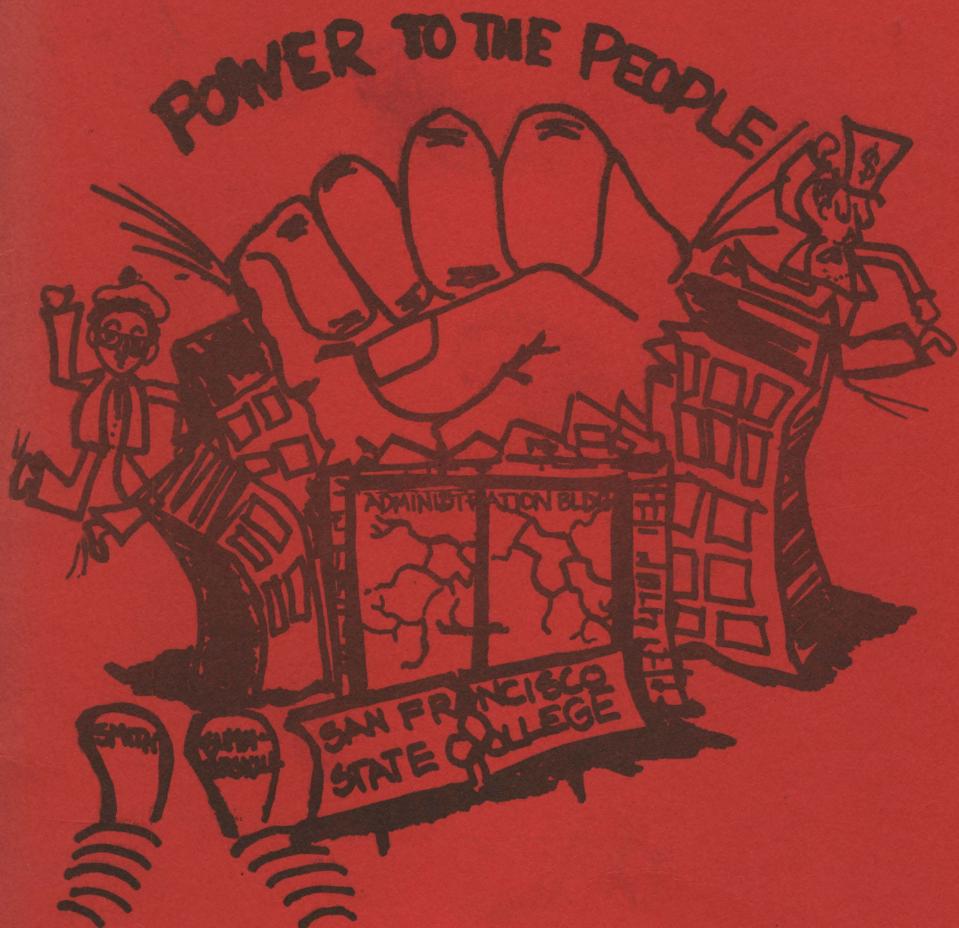


ON STRIKE



SHUT IT DOWN

SAN FRANCISCO STATE STRIKE COMMITTEE

.25

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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The San Francisco State Strike Committee is an organization composed of the Students for a Democratic Society, the Progressive Labor Party, the "Programs" (a group of radicals and left-wing liberals involved in community organizing, tutorial programs, Experimental College, etc.), the Young Socialist Alliance and many, many independent students. It was formed in response to the strike called by the Third World Liberation Front. It grew out of the need to ~~win~~ support for the strike among the less progressive (the vast majority of the student population at State) white students.

The role of the Strike Committee is a supportive one. That is, the leadership of the strike at State is in the hands of the Third World Liberation Front.

It is our hope that this pamphlet will win white people to see the need to carry on a non-relenting fight against racism.

THE DEMANDS

BLACK STUDENTS UNION DEMANDS AND EXPLANATIONS

(from a BSU position statement)

1. That all Black Studies courses being taught through various other departments be immediately part of the Black Studies Department and that all the instructors in this department receive full-time pay.

Explanation - At the present time the so-called Black Studies courses are being taught from the established departments which also control the function of courses. In order for a brother or sister to teach a Black Studies course he or she has to go before the assigned department head to receive permission to teach, which clearly shows that the power lies with the departments and the racist administrators, not the Black Studies department chairman, faculty and staff.

At the end of the summer, before the Fall of 1968, the racist administration announced that 47 full-time teaching positions were unfilled. The Black Studies Department only received 1.2 teaching positions out of the total number of 47. The Black Studies Department instructors should receive full-time pay like the various other departments on the San Francisco State College campus.

2. That Dr. Hare, Chairman of the Black Studies Department, receive a full-professorship and a comparable salary according to his qualifications.

Explanation - Dr. Hare is one of the best sociologists in the country and one of the most sought after, yet he makes less money than any Department chairman and all newly appointed deans and administrators.

3. That there be a Department of Black Studies which will grant a Bachelor's degree in Black Studies - that the Black Studies Department, chairman, faculty, and staff have the sole power to hire faculty and control and determine the destiny of its department.

Explanation - That the Black Studies Department have the power to grant Bachelor degrees - and that the Black Studies Department Chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire and fire without the interference of the racist administration and the Chancellor.

4. That all un-used slots for Black students from Fall, 1968 under the Special Admissions program be filled in Spring, 1969.

Explanation - That the 128 slots that were not filled by so-called "special admittees",

2

be filled by any Third World students who wishes to attend SFSC in the Spring of 1969.

5. That all Black students wishing so, be admitted in Fall, 1969.

Explanation - In San Francisco 70% of all Primary, Jr. High School and High School students are Third World, but at SFSC only 4% of the entire student body are Third World students. In other words, the racist pig power structure does not want an abundance of "niggers" in their so-called "institutions of higher learning."

6. That twenty full time teaching positions be allocated to the, Department of Black Studies.

Explanation - At the beginning of the Fall semester 1.2% of a teaching position was allocated to the so-called Black Studies Department. No department can function off of such a small number of teaching positions.

7. That Dr. Helen Bedesom be replaced from the position of Financial Aid officer and that a Black person be hired to direct it, that Third World people have the power to determine how it will be administered.

8. That no disciplinary action will be administered in any way to any student workers, teachers, or administrators during and after the strike as consequence of their participation in the strike.

Explanation - That the racist administrators do not threaten the security and well-being of people who support and participate in the strike.

9. That the California State College Trustees will not be allowed to dissolve any Black programs on or off San Francisco State College campus.

Explanation - On November 22-24, later postponed, the California State Trustees were to meet on the request of Pig Dumke to dissolve the Associated Students on all State College campuses throught the State. This means that we cannot create and maintain programs on campus and off campus. Everything we do will be controlled by the Pig Dumke. All Programs such as the Associated Students, CSI, EC, etc., will have to have Pig Dumke's OK. If the Trustees dissolve creativity on campus and off campus, we will use our creativity in a prolonged and protracted war against them.

10. That George Murray maintain his teaching position on campus for 1968-69 academic year.

Explanation - That George Murray is one of the best English instructors on the

campus. He was fired not because of a lack of teaching ability, but because of his political philosophy. He must be reinstated. He was teaching his students about the true nature of this society and the need for Third World People to obtain liberation by any means necessary.

THE THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT DEMANDS

1. That a School of Ethnic Studies for the ethnic groups involved in the Third World be set up with the students in each particular ethnic organization having the authority and control of the hiring and retention of any faculty member, director, and administrator, as well as the curriculum in a specific area of study.
2. That 50 faculty positions be appropriated to the School of Ethnic Studies, 20 or which would be for the Black Studies Program.
3. That in the Spring semester, the College fulfill its commitment to the non-white students in admitting those that apply.
4. That in the Fall of 1969, all applications of non-white students be accepted.
5. That George Murray and any other faculty person chosen by non-white people as their teacher be retained in their position.

4

POSITION STATEMENTS

THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT -- SCHOOL OF ETHNIC AREA STUDIES

Throughout the entire educational systems in California, a complete and accurate representation of minority peoples' role in the past and the present conditions of this state is non-existent. In every aspect from lectures to literature the educational facilities do not contain the information necessary to relate any facet of minority peoples' history and/or culture. Such an institutionalized condition of negligence and ignorance by the state's educational systems is clearly an integral part of the racism and hatred this country has perpetuated upon non-white peoples. The consistent refusal of State Education to confront its inadequacies and attain an equitable resolution between our peoples, make it mandatory for minority peoples to initiate and to maintain educational programs specifically based upon their peoples' background and present situation at intra- and international levels. The Third World Liberation Front is demanding a school of Ethnic Area Studies specifically organized to establish area studies of Mexican American, Latin American, Filipino American, Chinese American and Japanese American peoples.

The School's function is as a resource and an educational program for those minority peoples actively concerned with the lack of their peoples' representation and participation in all levels of California's educational institutions.

The School clearly intends to be involved in confronting the racism, poverty and misrepresentation imposed on minority peoples by the formally recognized institutions and organizations operating in the State of California. The process of such clarifications and exposure will be developed through the collection organization and presentation through ethnic area studies of all information relevant to the historical and contemporary positions of the minority peoples throughout local, state, national and international levels.

As assurance against the recurrence of education's traditional distortion and misrepresentation of Third World people's cultures and histories, the School of Ethnic Area Studies is to be developed, implemented, and controlled by Third World people. Whether an area study is at a developmental or departmental level within the school, the population of an area study will have sole responsibility and control for the staffing and curriculum of their ethnic area study. The operation and development of the School of Ethnic Studies is the responsibility and the control of those programs and departments within the School of Ethnic Area Studies.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDENT ORGANIZATION

The Latin American students on this college campus have come together in Latin American Students Organization because for our survival, both as individuals and as a people, it is necessary for us to unite. Since the formulation of our organization, the Latin American people of this college have worked together in an attempt to better the conditions of our people both here in the college and in our community. We have attempted to bring more of our people onto this campus, a campus at which out of a student population of over 18,000 people there are less than 200 Latin American people. A campus which is in a city with a population of 100000 Latino people.

We have attempted to implement a studies program which is relevant to Latin American people, so that our people have a reason to come to this college, and a reason to stay in it. We do this in view of the fact that the highest drop out rate in California schools is among the Latino people. We do it in view of the fact that the regular school system has made no more than token efforts at making education relevant to Latin peoples, so that they will have a reason to stay in school.

We, as Latin American people, are engaged in a struggle for our survival, both here on the campus and in the streets of our community. Up to this time we have repeatedly tried to work with the administrators and faculty of this college. We have requested for the furthering of our work. We can no longer request--we must demand. This is not a matter of choice for us, but of necessity. For what we are demanding are not luxuries, but the bare necessities for our survival.

S. F. State, a community college, exists in a moral vacuum, oblivious to the community it purports to serve. It does not reflect the pluralistic society that is San Francisco--it does not begin to serve the 300, 000 non-white people who live in this urban community in poverty, ignorance, despair. The Chinese ghetto, Chinatown, is a case in point.

1. S. F. State has a Chinese language department that isolates the "Chinese Experience" as a cultural phenomenon in language that 83% of the Chinese in the U. S. don't speak. Realistically, we can expect that a Chinese woman living in the ghetto, who speaks Cantonese, cannot explain to the scholar that she is dying of tuberculosis because she speaks a "street language" while the scholar mutters a classical poetry in Mandarin. S. F. State does not teach Cantonese.

2. Chinatown is a ghetto. In San Francisco, there are approximately 50, 000 Chinese of whom the vast majority live in Chinatown. It is an area of old buildings, narrow streets & alleys, and the effluvia of a great many people packed into a very small space. At present, more than 5, 000 new Chinese immigrants stream into this overpopulated ghetto each year, an area already blessed with a birthrate that is rising, and will rise more. Tuberculosis is endemic, rents are high and constantly rising, city services are inadequate to provide reasonable sanitation, and space is at such a premium as to resemble the Malthusian ratio at its most extreme. There are no adequate courses in any department of school at S. F. State that even begin to deal with the problems of the Chinese people in their exclusionary and racist environment.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENT CONFEDERATION

M. A. S. C. supports all of the demands of the Black Student Union and all of the other Third World demands. M. A. S. C. feels that the firing of George Murray by the administration is an overt racist attack on all Third World people. The administration needs to suppress the developing student movement. It needs to divert our potentially revolutionary direction, particularly our growing ties to Chicano and Black working people in the Brown and Black communities. The power structure fears a united front of Third World students and militant off-campus groups in the Brown and Black communities. The power structure fears that we will wage an uncompromising struggle for Third World liberation. We urge Third World students to join the liberation struggle and carry out a protracted battle until all the Third World demands are met.

The main reason for the success of the TWLF strike at S. F. State College has been the political analysis and the tactics and strategy which have flowed from it. When the strike was called by the TWLF white students responded by forming a supportive strike committee and from the first meeting a struggle began over the development of the political perspective.

SDS put forth the position that the main issues of the strike were racism & the class nature of the university. Others felt that we were fighting a battle for campus autonomy and that racism was too amorphous for the white student body to relate to it. Still others felt that "white demands" (i.e. demands for student power) had to be attached in order to win support for the strike. These ideas were discussed in the mass meetings and it was maintained that racism was not a vague issue, but one that could be seen as a tool of the ruling class that affects all oppressed people--including white students.

The following is the basic analysis which has guided the white student strike committee.

The university is an oppressive class institution. Its role in this society, as well as the role of all other formal institutions is to serve the interests of the corporate powers which run this country. These powers, which sit on the Bd. of Trustees and regulate what is taught and who is taught, include bankers, corporation directors, oil magnates, newspaper owners and assundry big businessmen. For example, Wente is a Director of DiGiorgio Corp. who has fought to keep Mexican workers super-oppressed and deny them the right to unionize. Or, Luckman who has built complete military installations in Spain, Thailand and the Phillipines. Or, Mrs. "Yellow Journalism" Hearst (a Regent) who lost no time in calling on the L. A. pigs to mace & club workers on strike against her paper for decent wages. These profiteers use the university to serve their interests- the doors are open to AFROTC but closed to Third World students; the labs are used to develop germ warfare, rather than cures for disease; the classes train managers & efficiency experts - not union organizers. The universities fight to buy up land in the ghetto, pushing out the poor-- rather than seeking ways to improve miserable, ghetto conditions.

As students, we are not liberally educated in an environment of "academic freedom," but rather we are trained as highly skilled workers - teachers, social workers, engineers, psychologists - who will graduate into the service of the ruling class. We go to school for THEIR benefit, not ours. We are taught their ideology - an ideology which is highly

individualistic, racist and anti-working class. An ideology which is counter to our interests as future working people. Those of us who enter the university with the idea of acquiring the knowledge and skills with which we can serve our communities find instead that we are often forced to play the role of apologist or legman for the oppressor - as teachers we police the class - as psychologists we "help" the alienated, mixed up people "readjust" rather than working to change the system that alienates them to begin with - or perhaps sociologists who devise a thousand rationalizations and excuses for exploitation and racism - while we remain ourselves materially oppressed. It is therefore, in our interest, to fight to change the nature of the university from one that serves the corporate wealth to one that serves the community. Furthermore, if we are to win those changes we seek, it is essential that we ally ourselves with the Third World and white working class communities -- those people who have the power to bring about revolutionary changes.

Within the university, a secondary form of oppression exists. Students are forced into a testing and grading system which fosters a competitive, dog-eat-dog ideology, rather than the development of creative, collective thought. We are trained with the racist anti-working class ideas which create the fear of minority or poor white youth entering "our" universities and "lowering" the lily-white standards. The only time that we are given any control over course content is if the content serves the interests of the ruling class. While these oppressive forms are certainly very real to all students, it is the content of the education upon which our attack must focus. It is not our aim to change the way racist and anti-working class ideas are taught, but rather to put an end to their being taught at all. It is our aim to change the basic nature of university education from serving the rulers to serving the community.

One of the major bulwarks of the ruling class's ideology is racism. This tool serves to divide the masses of oppressed people - workers as well as students - and keep them fighting among themselves rather than fighting their real enemy. Racism is also used to justify the superexploitation of Third World people by paying them lower wages, by denying them decent, relevant education. The TWELF strike is a strike against racism which serves the captains of industry but oppresses the masses of people. It is a strike to make the university serve the community and, as such, it is in our interest to join.

At State, many students racist training led them to believe that black people fighting for their liberation were their enemies rather than recognizing them as allies in a united fight against the Trustees. The "objective" press reporting on the roving bands

9 of black militants disrupting classes played on these misconceptions & fears. It was hoped that the average white student would get the impression that he had more in common with the white administration than with his fellow non-white students. This is just one example of how racism is used to separate black and white.

The BSU & TWLF are a vanguard force that is leading this strike. The role of white students is to join with them in making the trustees yield on these demands. Specifically, the role of white student strikers is to educate their fellow students to the need to fight against the class nature of the university, to an understanding of their own oppression, and to the role of racism. As this educational process is carried to other colleges, it is necessary to combat the isolation and individualism which is so much a part of bourgeois education. For example, the power structure would have students believe that the problems of SFSC are unique and of no relevance to other students.

On the contrary, students in all colleges must come to recognize that they are not isolated, but are part of a class - the working class - and the problems of SFSC are problems which effect us as a class and can only be defeated on a class basis.

While SDS put forth the above position on the strike, in the struggle for political direction, one of the most hotly contested battles was waged over "campus autonomy." Some people felt that the problem on campus was not racism, but the authority that the trustees wielded over SF State. They felt that if the college community could just run itself it could solve its own problems. However, "local control" does not challenge the class nature of the university. First of all, we must ask of whoever controls the college - "in whose interest is it being run?" In our society, a college could certainly be "Autonomous" as long as it still served the ruling class. Note that the Academic Senate publicly bemoaned the racist firing of George Murray by the Trustees - just when they were going to do it themselves. Racist policies administered locally or from outside are still racist policies. Secondly, the demand for campus autonomy or student power reinforces the mistaken idea of student intellects as a privileged group - isolated from the community. It serves to divert our attention from uniting with other oppressed people to fight our oppressors - just as racism does. Therefore, it is not a question of which privileged group runs our colleges in their interests, but rather that the colleges must be run for the masses of people in the community.

Another idea put forth at the early meetings was the idea of liberation schools or parallel institutions. As it was proposed, it denied the basic premise of the TWLF

10

strike. The concept of liberation school abandons the intense struggle to change the existing nature of the university. The people who argue for liberation schools are essentially saying that the university, corrupt & exploitative as it is, can go its own way while the students will go create their own school, free from corruption and exploitation. By abandoning the majority of people who pay for the university and are oppressed rather than served by it, by going off and doing our own thing, we pose no threat to those in power.

The Columbia rebellion showed the danger of liberation schools. There students believing in the efficacy of counter-institutions, gave up a valiant fight against racism and set up model classes on lawns and in houses. Meanwhile, Columbia continued to drive people from their homes in Harlem and continued to work with IDA. What should be done? Instead of liberation schools, classes should be organized among people involved in the strike to advance their understanding of the struggle and not towards deserting it. These classes should be but one part of the battle. The alternative to the present system is not to ignore it, but to fight to change it.

After a few days, when it became clear that the great majority of students attending strike meetings rejected the analysis of student power and the tactics of liberation schools, the proponents of these ideas set up a counter strike committee. They considered themselves a new group who "supported the 15 demands, but couldn't relate to SDS". The coordinators said that they agreed with SDS in principle, but their tactics and strategy smacked of "ulterior motives." (i.e. We were using the strike for our own ends.) This SDS baiting is the same as that used by our past "liberal" college presidents, U. S. Congressmen, and the barrage of red-baiting in the working class strikes in the 30's and 40's. The attacks by those who supposedly agree with the ends of a left organization -- which they actually don't -- are made on organizational rather than political grounds. That is, "the organization is controlled by reds." This baiting is a representation of ruling class ideology and is used to stir up a fear of communists in this country. At State, the strike committee members were aware of communists in the movement, and communist ideas. Rather than being taken in by this tactic, it was the policy of the strike committee to defend its members and leaders and to sharply attack red-baiting.

The Need to Fight Cops

When all else fails, the rulers always fall back on their armed might -- in this case it was the police force of San Francisco and the surrounding counties. Hayakawa

11
thought that if he used enough police and police terror that we would quit, pack up our picket signs and go home. However, rather than giving in to this repression, students fought back. We met their clubs with rocks and bottles and defended ourselves and our fellow students. Several plainclothes pigs were beaten up when they were discovered. This was a big step forward for many white students- they overcame their awe and fear of the pigs to follow the militant Third World leadership. Further, this was a step forward toward defeating pacifism which is very strong among white students. It has its roots in the class background of most students who come from the middle class and have been taught to avoid violence at all costs. Pacifism obfuscates the class nature of violence-- the ruling class uses any means necessary to keep people in their places and we must use any means necessary, including "people's violence," to defeat them.

A great deal has been learned in the course of the strike at State: the importance of correct political ideas in developing winning tactics and strategy, the need for systematic, day-to-day base-building and education, the need to defeat racism within ourselves as well as in our fellow students, and the importance of seeking out our allies in the community.

THE STATE COLLEGE SYSTEM and its MASTER PLAN FOR EDUCATION

The State College System is a citadel of institutionalized racism. Established to train a technical-administrative labor force to sell & produce for the corporations, this monument is guarded by a Bd. of Trustees whose sole responsibility is to control the nature of that working force. This control has taken the form of racism in a number of ways. For example, the tracking system, built into the Master Plan for Higher Education in 1960-1 (during Gov. Brown's administration). Theoretically, this system was instituted to separate the "college material" from the students who aren't "academically inclined". In reality, it functions to keep Third World & poor white students from becoming part of a labor force that has fewer & fewer openings.

Under the old system of admissions, the top 70% of the graduating high school seniors in California could be admitted to the state colleges & the top 33% to the universities. With the tracking system- an extension of previous policies- admission standards were raised to the top 33% for state colleges & top 12- $\frac{1}{2}$ % for universities. Needless to say, these "standards" were established by the corporate powers for their trainees. At S.F. State, the tracking system is the main reason for the sharp reduction in the number of Third World students at the college. In 1960, 12% of the student body was black. Last year, just prior to the special admissions program's inception, the figure dropped to 3%. In addition, the Master Plan incorporated the Scholastic Aptitude Tests as part of the admission requirements for the state colleges. The SAT represents the highest level of the tracking system, with its rigid, standardized system of evaluating students by percentile- computed, once again, from their ability to relate to a set of highly specialized cultural & academic standards, rather than their own potential or educational needs.

Another important aspect of the Master Plan was its centralized power structure which further served to reinforce the class and racist nature of California's higher education. The plan created the Coordinating Council on Higher Education (CCHE) to run the show, delegating fiefdoms to the Regents & Trustees. The CCHE makes final recommendations on annual budgets, educational policy and growth plans. Who sits on that body that determines our educational fate & ultimately the nature of our lives? Take, just as an example, the 3 most recent appointees to the CCHE--Lorenzo Hoops, V.P. and Director of Safeway Stores, Robert Hornby, Pres. & Chief Exec. Officer of Pacific Lighting Corp., and Kenneth Rearwin, V.P. of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith. Their qualifications, obviously are the fact that they are a part of the corporate elite that controls the California economy. Rearwin & Hoops are tied together by interlocking Bds. of Dir-

ectors. Pacific Lighting is a holding company which interlocks with and overlaps a number of California Corporations.

The effect of the Master Plan has been the slow emasculation of the state colleges. It virtually prohibits the colleges from serving the communities which surround them. It denies an education to the people who pay the most in taxes to support the schools- the Black, Chicano, Oriental & white workers who, as Reagan's new budge shows, pay (in personal income & property taxes) at least 60% of the monies that go to education. The corporations, whose representatives sit on the CCHE, Regents, & Trustees, pay 5% at the most of those monies.

This brief description of how the state colleges act as service stations for the corporations indicates why the 15 demands of the TWLF are so threatening. These very basic demands challenge corporate capitalism in the state of California and, in effect, issue a moratorium on the education of corporate capitalism. Further, an analysis of how racism becomes institutionalized reveals to us that the corporations need us to produce for them and to sell for them. More importantly, they need the teachers, social workers, welfare administrators, sociologists, political scientists to provide information about the colonized to the colonizers so that the latter can rule more efficiently. By going on strike we have said that we refuse to be used to perpetuate racism.

San Francisco State, one of 19 State Colleges, is a drab, unimpressive paste-board like campus in the heart of upper middle classville in the southwestern part of the city. It has rightly been called a street car college, the M car passing right by the front door, depositing most of the school's 18,000 students at the corner of 19th and Holloway.

San Francisco State is well known as one of the most liberal schools in the country. Its academic atmosphere is relaxed in comparison to its greedy, intensely competitive neighbor in Berkeley. A great many hip types go to S.F. State to do their thing. Dogs, flowers, music, the Experimental College with courses in witchcraft, and macrobiotic living are trade marks at State. But the most striking characteristic of the schools is its political climate. It is this aspect which has superceded all the rest. It is student politics that moves State.

The first anti-establishment activities at the Lake Merced campus began in Spring 1966 with the commencement of the tutorial program and the creation of the Experimental College. Though not actually challenging the class nature of the university, it was the first serious attempt made to question the role of the university in our society. In Spring, 1966 politics began finding a home on the campus with the formation of SDS and BSU.

The Black Students Union was formed late in 1965. It became a solid force in the Spring of 1966 when it began organizing Black Studies and cultural programs in the Experimental College. The main concern of the newly-founded BSU was that of developing a feeling of pride and identity through Black culture. But the Black artists went a step further and brought their black art back to the community. The more community work done by the black students, the more they realized the contradictions between what they learned in the white university and what was necessary for them to learn to be able to attack the problems in their community. While LeRoi Jones became a prominent figure in the 1966-7 school year, the year saw the introduction of a revolutionary political program by

Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. As the contradictions between the interests of the University and the corporate capitalist state which controls it via the Trustees and the needs of the people in the black community grew, the awareness among Black students became sharper that the politics of liberation and self-determination applied not only to the ghetto but to the black students at the college as well.

SDS began in 1966 as an avowedly anti-imperialistic organization and led several demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, class ranking, war recruiting on the campus, and the presence of AF-ROTC at State. Though SDS was thought of basically as an anti-war group, it proved itself to be concerned with domestic problems specifically of workers and students at State when it led a 95% effective boycott of the cafeteria for higher wages, lower prices, and student control. Though in its early days SDS had no appreciable base of support, its presence was clearly felt.

MAPS

Nov. 6, 1967 was the real beginning of student struggle at S.F. State. On that day members of the BSU (Black Students Union) went into the office of the student newspaper, the Daily Gater, a fight took place, resulting in the editor being carried out on a stretcher. The paper had a history of printing racist articles about Muhammad Ali, the Black students programs, etc. White students had ignored this policy of the Gater which constantly attacked the Black Students on campus. The progressive white students viewed this incident as an act of self-defense by Black Students. The incident created a reaction of hysteria at State, bringing out the racist fears in the white students in the open. The administration immediately branded black students who had been identified from photographs as the "guilty parties" and suspended them. Following this was the suspension of two white students, writers for the student underground paper, Open Process, over an "obscene" poem. Almost overnight a list of demands was thrown together by white students and a movement was born. The demands concerned white student power and due process. The Political analysis that was behind this movement called MAPS (Movement Against Political Suspensions) was not well developed and only liberal in outlook.

The action that culminated the hastily organized MAPS was on Dec. 6 when black and white students moved on and occupied the administration building. The Gater fired up all the racist hysteria it could by saying that black students were bringing "goons" from the community and there was a possibility of "snipers" on the roofs. During this action several windows were broken, a few people were beaten and a fire was set.

Dec. 6 failed in that white students organized around due process rather than fighting racism. The political debate around fighting racism as the primary aspect of the movement rather than due process was sharp but the majority of students were not won to struggling around racism. However a week later about 75 students, mainly SDS people, sat in the Administration Building, primarily around the racist nature of the suspension of the Black students. (It failed in that the students involved isolated themselves by moving too fast, entering into a tenuous coalition with Liberals, and not really trying to educate the rest of the white students as to the political nature of MAPS). MAPS also failed because the white students involved found themselves apologizing for the violence that did take place rather than pointing out its necessity in relation to the Black Liberation struggle, its liberating and oppressing aspects and its role in history.

But MAPS also had many positive progressive points. First, it was the first real mass action taken by white students at State around the question of racism. It politically sharpened the participants as to the mistakes of isolation, liberalism, struggling for correct political ideas, etc. Also, probably the greatest success of Dec. 6 was that white students had torn down forever the previously impregnable walls protecting the "Academy" from the real world. From Dec. 6 onward San Francisco State was to be a part of that outside community full of real things that face the community every day -- the violence, the intensity of oppression felt by the Black ad Third World people, the police and institutional repression, San Francisco State could never again return to the business of doing its own, ivy covered, liberal academic thing.

THE SIT - IN

The following semester (S'68) saw the formation of the Third World Liberation Front (a coalition of various campus ethnic organizations) dedicated to close ties with the community and self-determination for Third World peoples.

At the same time SDS was organizing for the removal of the campus unit of Air Force ROTC. An Academic Senate and two student votes had also called for its removal.

On May 17, 1968 a sit-in was called to begin May 21. The student demands were (1) Admission of 400 "non-qualified" Third World students for Fall '68, (2) hiring 10 Third World instructors to teach them, (3) the rehiring of Dr. Juan Martinez, a Mexican American professor instrumental in the formation of TWLF, who was fired from the history department for racist political reasons, (4) the removal of AF-ROTC from campus.

President John Summerskill, the bleeding heart liberal, at first said the demands could not possibly be met. The first night saw the clearing of 400 students from the building by police with 26 students volunteering to be arrested. The students reoccupied the building the next day and members of San Francisco's Latin community paid a call on Summerskill. That week-end Summerskill decided to leave the building "open" around the clock. By Thursday, Summerskill had met 3 or 4 of the demands and agreed to set up a campus wide referendum on the AF-ROTC issue. Summerskill cracking under the pressure, was fired, and split to Ethiopia. Friday the building was closed at 10 pm by the then ruling Troika of Don Garrity, Ferd Reddell and Glenn Smith. More arrests resulted, but students organized over the insuing weekend and returned Monday carrying out a mill-in in the Administration Building. The troika was holed-up in an office for four hours, refused to give in, reneged on the vote arrangement and eventually called the pigs again to clear the building. The following day a state of emergency was called and over 1,000 students marched into the Administration Building in defiance of the ban. However, the semester drew to an end and with it the

struggle with the administration.

The May sit-in exhibited both positive points of development and negative aspects to be over come in future struggles.

For the first time at S.F. State a clear relationship was drawn between the nature of U.S. imperial policies abroad and U.S. racist policies at home (specifically in the univesity). A fairly large number of students (700-1000) became involved in a somewhat long term struggle (8 days). Some strides were made in communicating with the student constituency during struggle (limited classroom education). Also positive, was the fact that we won three of the four demands.

Among the weaknesses were the inability to communicate with enough students, due largely to the isolation of the action (within one building). The lack of students actively seeking the support of or importance of the community was a major weakness of the sit-in. Finally, the general inflexibility of the action and the low degree of militancy in relation to the total aims was something that had to be overcome in the future. People weren't really politically involved in a mass way, thus limiting their education of the nature of the state, the class nature of the university and the need to wage a vigorous battle to change it. This may have accounted for the relative low level of militancy.

(A Political and Historical Analysis of the Development of the Strike)

SOME BACKGROUND

During the month of October, Black and Third World students began drawing up a list of requirements they felt was minimally necessary for all Third World students to function at San Francisco State College. Most of the requirements were not new. The BSU had been trying for 2 years to get them implemented, but all of these channels led where they were intended-- a dead end street. White students were given an inkling of what those requirements were during a rally on Military Information Day, Oct. 16. On that day, a day on which SDS had mobilized 300 people to throw the military recruiters off campus, a member of the Third World Liberation Front spoke to a crowd of 1,000 outlining and explaining a set of demands.

The next event leading up to the strike was the firing of George Murray, Black Panther, graduate student and English instructor at SFSC. The trustees had been trying to get rid of him since the Cleaver controversy in Berkely. On Oct. 31, Glenn Dumke Chancellor of the State College system, ordered Pres. Robert Smith to suspend Murray. The immediate rationalization for suspension given by Dumke was a speech by Murray at Fresno State a week earlier. At that time, he said it may be necessary for Third World students to be armed in order to protect themselves from racist administrators, politicians, bankers and landlords. Murray was teaching his Third World students and the whole student body, the role of violence, the necessity for Third World people to pick up the gun to achieve liberation and that the enemy of liberation is not the "white man," but the oppressors of all mankind-- the bankers, landlords, industrialists, etc. He was suspended by Smith on Nov. 1. The Black Student Union immediately called for a strike to begin on Nov. 6. They had 10 demands, one of which was the re-instatement of Murray. (The TWLF joined the BSU on Nov. 7, with 5 demands of their own.)

White students began the monumental task of trying to reach the majority of liberal, but seemingly unconcerned, students on the issues of racism, self-determination for Third World people, the class nature of the university. SDS called for a mass meeting on Nov. 4, from which a broad-based strike support committee was formed. There were many political battles in that, and subsequent, meetings over the issues

20

of campus autonomy, liberation schools and white students & racism. The Strike Support Comm. put out a leaflet every day to relay to the student body both the facts and the politics behind them. We held discussion groups on the lawn in an attempt to win people to support the strike. We also held mass meetings every day to plan for the coming day's events. One of our most effective organizing tools during the early days of the strike was classroom education. Here teams of 3 or 4 white students would go into classrooms and ask the instructor for permission to rap about the strike. They spent ten, 15 or 50 minutes talking about the issues and encouraging students to boycott classes. Although we met some hostility, we went in day after day to drive home the point to non-striking students that they couldn't run away from the issues and that we were going to be in their classes at every opportunity to win them to support the strike.

Out of classroom education grew Departmental Organizing. Here students in the various departments began holding separate meetings to form caucuses to build support of the strike. Many departments have formed caucuses- the strongest being in Education, Art, Drama, English and Psychology.

THE SMITH ERA

Robert Smith, the Chief Administrator at State, has been described as a bumbling moderate and a liberal rhinoceros. He tried very hard to serve his masters (trustees) and break the strike. He did this by threatening the strikers with suspension, calling on cops to terrorize students and attempting to buy off the militancy of the strike by proposing a "cooling off" period which came in the form of 2 campus-wide convocations. Students responded to threats from the Administration with threats of their own - to shut the school down. Strikers responded to pig terror by fighting back and chasing plainclothesmen, and small units of tactical squad pigs, off campus.

The use of cops was the first form of organized intimidation Smith used to smash the strike. The elite, super-pig, tactical squad was called the first day, after a minor outbreak of violence when Third World students trashed outscab classes. Smith closed the school in mid-afternoon. The tactics of the TWLF, in the early part of the strike, included picket lines around buildings, rallies to build support, and constant pressure in the form of disruptions of the normal functioning of the college.

The most massive use of cops during Smith's term of office came a week later (Nov. 13) when two squads of 8 tac cops marched through the campus and took up positions in front of the BSU hut. After 500 students had gathered at the scene, the

2-1
cops attacked the crowd, seeking out black students to arrest. The students fought back, freeing some of their comrades and the cops beat a hasty, gun-pulled retreat. At the same time, on the other side of the campus, about 1,000 students stalemated the advance of 60 riot-equipment pigs. The pigs were forced to retreat under a hail of rocks and bottles. Although a dozen people were arrested and several were injured, the students had held off the cops, forcing Smith to close the school.

This time SF State remained closed for a week while the trustees, Reagan, Smith and lesser lights of the ruling class plotted over the question: How to keep the school open & break the strike. They put their corporate heads together and came up with a solution taken from the pages of an old book on liberalism. That solution was to take the form of a talkathon, a filibuster, a gab session - or as Smith called it, a CONVOCATION.

The convocation began on Nov. 20th. Many students were taken in by the convocation and seemed willing to call off the strike and let the conflict be resolved by discussion. It was felt by SDS and other students that the convocation would divert people's militancy and their commitment to fighting for the 15 demands. This fear was quickly overcome as the TWLF used the convocations to explain their position and reach the so-called "silent majority." And, to expose the administration. Instead of "letting the fever run its course", as Mayor Alioto had hoped, the convocation doubled the strength of the strike and Smith was through.

During the first convocation, classes were still in session and 200 plainclothes pigs were on campus. The next day, the TWLF demanded that Smith cancel all classes and withdraw the cops to establish an atmosphere of good faith for the convocation to continue. Smith refused and the TWLF and their supporters walked out. That afternoon, thousands of students marched through buildings, breaking up classes by overturning desks and ejecting scabs. Students attacked, and creamed, 3 plainclothesmen, dragging one down the steps of the Humanities building. The tac squad appeared to rescue their fellow pigs and to "protect life and property." However, when they arrived, the buildings were empty, the plainclothesmen bloodied, and the school was again closed.

The next week saw Smith and the frightened faculty crawl to the TWLF, begging for another chance. Convo II started much like Convo I, with the TWLF explaining their position and winning many students to support the strike. Again Smith was exposed. During a "convocation in good faith" several TWLF leaders received

letters of suspension. Again the bankruptcy of the administration was revealed. Again the TWLF and their supporters walked out of the "strike-breaking convolution."

Unable to smash the strike, thereby failing his masters, Robert Smith gracefully resigned as president of SF State College. In his place stepped a lunatic- Hayakawa.

THE ADVENT OF THE HAYAKAWA ERA

The December Days

S. I. Hayakawa, faculty member, famed semanticist, and well-known propagandist of the right wing of the ruling class, became President minutes after Smith resigned. We shouldn't get hung up on emphasizing that Hayakawa is a madman or a lunatic. In truth, he is a Smith-Summerskill unmasked. When people get together and fight for their rights and really start bending the state, the harlequin mask of benevolent "freedom-of-this-that-and-the-other-liberalism" is quickly shed and the state begins to reveal its true nature. So, one might say, concerning SF State's administrators and their relationship to state power-- a lunatic (Hayakawa) is a liberal (Smith & Summerskill) in the nude.

On the first day of Hayakawa's reign, he attacked the Strike Support Committee's sound-truck which was parked on a street in front of the school. He climbed on the roof and pulled out the wires on the speakers, pushing and shoving students who gathered to protest his actions. After a brief skirmish, he was whisked away by police. Since that time he has not left his office without an armed guard.

Hayakawa tried very hard to break the strike. He has banned public rallies. The TWLF, however, had held rallies almost daily-- not to defy the denial of free speech, but to keep the momentum of the strike growing. The rallies in Dec. drew thousands of people who had been won to supporting the 15 demands. Further, he hired a public relations man to improve his image and think up groovy gimmicks. One such gimmick was to pass out blue armbands to students. The excuse behind this was that the "silent majority" could express sympathy with the demands but opposition to violence. Not only was this so-called majority silent, but it was invisible. Only a couple of hundred "hard-core reactionaries" wore them. The racist reality of the armbands was that the wearers weren't sympathetic to anything the cops. They weren't against violence either-- they would point out leaders to the cops, pick a fight with a striker and then lead him to the pigs. What the blue

armbands, and the "Committee for an Academic Environment" who pushed them, did was to bring to the fore about 100 fascist "Hayakawa Youth." They have been easily exposed and denounced by the Strike Support Comm.

Hayakawa's most effective weapon during the month of December was his unflinching, gleeful use of the police. Only 250 were deployed during his first day, in an unsuccessful attempt to break up a rally of 4000. However, he quickly escalated the forces to 600, with 1000 in ready reserve. During his entire 13 weeks of office, the cops have constantly occupied the campus to harrass, terrorize, beat and arrest students. To date, over 800 people have been arrested. After Tuesday, Dec. 3, the bloodiest day of the struggle, (cops and students fought for 3 hours), Hayakawa said: "This has been the most exciting time of my life since my tenth birthday when I rode the roller coaster for the first time." Yet, the police terror had failed to break the strike.

Hayakawa has also taken great pleasure in signing 2 dozen criminal warrants and suspending about 60 students. The pressure has been so great on him that he was forced to lift the suspensions - "pending due process."

After bloody Tuesday, during which about 30 students and 15 cops were injured, Hayakawa decreed by executive fiat, that it is a misdemeanor to be on the quad-rangle (scene of demonstrations) and not in class. He was unable, however, to enforce this because at the highpoint of demonstrations from 4-6000 (of the 6-8000 at school) were demonstrating. He also tried to invoke a state law making it a crime for non-students to be on campus. He directed this specifically at the hundreds of community people who had come to support the strike. TWLF and the white students are putting forth the position that the college must serve the community and community people have a right, even a duty, to be on that campus participating in the struggle. Hayakawa, by parroting his masters voices (Reagan and trustees) made it clear that the community has no business on campus. Through the strength of the strikers, and the solid commitment of the community, this position was unenforceable.

During the first weeks in December, Hayakawa swore to the press in his daily press conferences that the campus "is open and will remain open." "80% of the students are going to class." "The violence and terror of the strikers will be ended." These hysterical statements made it clear that our madman was backed into a corner and didn't have many tricks left--promotion man or not. On Friday, Dec. 6,

he tried yet another way to end the strike by conceding on some of the demands. The concessions amounted to about 3 or 4 of the BSU demands. The move was to split the BSU from the TWLF (he made no mention of their 5 demands) and he also stated they could get more in the way of concessions if they would repudiate the violence and the role of SDS, Progressive Labor Party, and other radical organizations in this struggle. This was a racist slur that said that those militant groups were using the BSU and the BSU was too naive and dumb to know what was coming off. Reagan, Alioto and others have used the same gimmick which says in effect that Third World people aren't capable of controlling their own struggle. But as Hayakawa blared out the concessions over the loudspeakers atop the Ad Building, the thousands of students gathered on the quad for the noon rally boomed back a one word answer to this "gift" --"BULLSHIT. No deals. We have 15 demands not 5. We will fight until all 15 are met." These were responses from the BSU and TWLF and supporters at the Friday rally. They reaffirmed their position that no tricks, deals or divide and conquer tactics would make them sell out. They vowed to fight even harder now that it was apparent that Hayakawa was being backed into a corner. It was felt that he had begun to give in and if the pressure was kept up he would shortly collapse.

Having his "peace offer" rebuffed, Hayakawa embarked on a new tactic. This was red-baiting, a tactic of the lowest, foulest level used by those afraid of the strength of a growing militant mass movement. What it is designed to do is to scare-- a ploy used to whip up hysteria and fear in people attempting to divert their attention from the real issues. Hayakawa, realizing that his cops, threats, and gifts couldn't crush the growing student movement, and the now growing community support, tried to refocus everyone's attention from the 15 demands. He began to point out the "fact" that "outside agitators (SDS types) were converging on the campus from all parts of the country" and most of these demonstrators were "hopped up on drugs." Reagan went on TV to speak about the crises on college campuses. He said these violent disruptions were "attacks against the people of California who pay taxes for the college and are instigated by SDS PL and BSU." Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Education, told all the high school principals to be on the lookout for the SDS "who is exploiting and perverting the minds of young high school students. "Be mindful," he said, "they will try to organize around such things as abolition of grades, improving course

curriculum, getting rid of racist teachers, and trying to get ethnic programs.

Watch these sneaky reds, he warned, they are out to destroy "our system of higher education." These are indeed the mad ravings of men scared, their empires shaking, and the masses of people arousing themselves to take action that will pierce through to the real issues--that the schools are racist, that they feed on the exploitation of non-white people and that all this is possible, and NECESSARY, because the schools are defined, controlled and run in the interest of the small corporate class who gained their positions of wealth and power at the expense of all working people (especially non-white workers.)

Only time, and a good political program, will be able to expose and defeat the tactics of red-baiting. At State it has failed to divide the strikers from themselves, either white from Third World, or SDS from the more moderate. It has also failed to turn the campus community against the strike. Although it has whipped up some fears among the people of San Francisco, many community people, longshoremen, painters, auto workers and phone workers have seen the unprincipled tactic of red-baiting thrown at them during their particular struggles, and therefore, know what it is and have rallied to support the strike.

The next phase of the strike saw Third World students begin building for Monday, Dec. 16--proclaimed as "Third World Community Day." They leafleted their communities, spoke to church and social groups telling them to come to campus Monday. They also reached a great number of high school students.

(During the previous 2 weeks, four San Francisco high schools had walk-outs and boycotts protesting their intolerable conditions and in support of SF State - their future college.) It was expected that hundreds, if not thousands, of high school students and people from the Third World Community would be on campus Monday to express their solidarity with the striking students. In addition to Third World activities, the Strike Support Committee invited working people and other sympathizers in the community to come to State on Monday. Students had leafleted factories, shopping centers, bus stops, explaining the issues of the strike. The call had also been sent out to other colleges up and down the state, asking them to express their revolutionary solidarity by sending as many people as they could to participate. Students were coming as far away as San Diego and L.A. Hundreds were expected.

Contacts with other colleges have been extremely important in building the

strike. A fairly extensive communications tree has been established between SF State and many of the California colleges. We have sent dozens of speakers to other campuses all over the state and country to address support rallies. Much of the time the speakers appear along with our Agit-Prop groups who have been invaluable in drawing people to the rallies and in driving home important political points.

The Strike Support Committee also sought support from white working people. We believe that the college does not serve their interests just as it does not serve the interests of Third World people and that, therefore, it is their fight too. Reaching the white community has been a struggle both in getting students to see the political necessity of allying with the working class and in breaking down barriers set up by the ruling class to turn workers against progressive student struggles. Yet much support has come from the white communities. For example, on Monday, Dec. 9, ten auto workers from the GM plant in Fremont were on campus. The prospect of students and working people getting together is frightening to the capitalist barons who run the colleges and the country. They realize that a worker-student alliance is a threat to their power.

Faced with the real possibility that the American Federation of Teachers would finally strike on Monday, Third World Community Day, and informed that thousands of people would be on their campus to demonstrate support of the strike; Hayakawa - who had screamed to everyone within earshot that the campus would remain open at all costs - closed the school down. He said it was a friendly gesture on his part to give students Christmas vacation a week early. The real reason that he closed the school is obvious. The tremendous strength of the strike focused on Monday, Dec. 16. Hayakawa, backed up against the administrative wall, must have realized that his 600 pigs would have been inadequate to prevent students and community people from closing down the school. So, rather than facing total annihilation of his repressive administration, he gambled. To head off the show of strength planned for Monday, he closed the school a week early and tried to make everyone believe that Third World Community Day had nothing to do with it. No one was fooled! This step by Hayakawa was probably the greatest single victory of the the then six week old strike. It showed the tremendous power the people had in trying to break the tyranny of the garrison state. The state was forced to shrink in the face of thousands of people engaged in a protracted struggle

27
against racism and for Third World self-determination.

HAYAKAWA ERA II

January -- The Year of the Protracted Struggle

During the three week Christmas layoff, many of the students of the Strike Support Committee took a rest or went home. There were enough people, however, to carry on the tasks of building the strike. People went all over the country (including the SDS National Council meeting in Ann Arbor) to speak and raise money for the bail fund. At home, demonstrations were planned, leaflets written and distributed throughout the city and community forums were held. The TWLF also continued organizing in the various Third World communities building support for the strike.

During this period Hayakawa held press conferences, appeared on TV shows and was named "Educator of the Year." He repeated his "mindless chant" that the strike had no support and it would be over by the time school reopened. Just in case it wasn't over, he hypothesized that he would take a hard line on the "dissidents" only this time he would be rougher. He re-instituted the ban on rallies and demonstrations on the central campus. However, for the first two and a half weeks of "school" a rally was not proposed by the Central Committee of the TWLF as a tactical or strategic necessity. The plan for that period was to have a militant picket line ring the campus in an attempt to close the place down.

The AFT

The American Federation of Teachers- 300 strong out of a faculty of 1300- struck on Jan. 6 and has been participating in the picketing ever since. The AFT demands primarily revolve around wages, hours, working conditions and the right to collective bargaining. Some of their demands speak to amnesty for the strikers, settlement of the TWLF demands, but they have never taken an official position supporting the TWLF demands. The AFT received strike sanction from the corrupt Central Labor council after Mayor Alioto and every other political foot man tried to prevent it. But the issues were so clear (the AFT, a labor union was denied by its employer, the trustees, the right to bargain collectively) that the Labor Council had no other choice. What sanction means is that other labor unions will not cross the picket line. Specifically, it has meant that cafeteria workers (411) have walked off their jobs, closing the main student cafeteria. Also, the dormitory food workers are honoring the picket line, thereby closing the two dorms. Other

unions, such as the library, graduate assistants (1928) and clerical workers (who are trying to organize) have joined the strike in support of the 15 demands specifically.

But all is not that rosy with the AFT. There have been many conflicts between them and the TWLF. The key source of friction is over who is really leading the strike and what strategy and tactics should be used. The AFT has made its own policies on violence, negotiations, and structure of picket lines which differed from the TWLF policies.

The TWLF has laid down the "Three Principles of the Strike" which serve as a criteria for any organization wishing to join the struggle. They are 1) the central issue of the strike is a fight against racism, 2) that the Third World people have a right to self-determination and a seizure of power by any means necessary, and 3) the 15 demands are non-negotiable. As a result of their differences, the relationship between the AFT and TWLF is a complex one. The AFT has been engaged in a labor strike for 5 weeks (at this writing). In many ways, the strikes are separate. The AFT strike is one of the most progressive labor actions in the area of public service employees concerning their right to strike, bargain collectively and improve their working conditions. The teachers have put their careers on the line in taking on Reagan and the trustees. Their strike should, and is, supported by the students. However, the tactics that they have employed can not be seen as separate from the TWLF strike. They have overlapped and, in fact, have sometimes acted as a break on the militancy and direction of the TWLF strike. It is here where the main bone of contention lies. The TWLF has led the way in voicing these criticisms of the AFT. Their position is that they are in political leadership of any joint actions. Most students recognize that there are two strikes, both progressive, and see the importance of following the lead of the TWLF as the means of winning both strikes.

The picket line lasted throughout January and numbered 700-1500 people every day. Support contingents have joined the line from all over the area, students from as far away as Reed College in Oregon and labor groups from auto, Teamsters, ILWU, busdrivers, oil workers from Richmond, Ca., painters, Social Services Union, Retail Clerks Union and a dozen or so AFT locals. In addition, a Community Coalition has formed of over a 100 community groups including the Strike Support Committee of Marin (County), Eureka-Noe Valley Strike Supporters, Rally of Afro-American Parents, Unite Parents Committee, Concerned Chinese for Action and

Change, and the Mission (Spanish district) Strike Support Committee. The greatest support came on the first day of classes after Christmas vacation. Over 3000 people marched and hassled and jeered at scabs--forcing many of them to get back on the streetcar and go home.

During the first two weeks of the picket line attendance, according to independent sources, had fallen to 15-20%. Even "98% Normal Hayakawa" won't dispute these figures. During the first few days of the line, militancy made it nearly impossible for scabs to get through; however, two squads of pigs forced open, and patrolled, a "demilitarized zone" to provide for their safe passage. In addition, cops have been deployed in a position from which they can surround the line in seconds. This did much to reduce the militancy. And, too, picketing for 3-7 hours can be a stone drag -- especially if students don't see the line as being effective in the immediate sense. But, in the long run, the picketing proved to be a successful tactic and has hurt the administration and attendance very badly.

The lines were not all that dead. In fact, the cops charged them several times, arresting about 35 people during the first two weeks of January. Most of the arrests came with little resistance by the students. We were disturbed by this passive attitude so on the day that we received information that Bridges Randall, a BSU leader, was to be arrested on a warrant we took steps to correct our non-militancy. About 300 students surrounded Bridges, forcing the cops to make three separate assaults before they could get to him. He was finally arrested, but only after the pigs were hassled for an hour and a half. Though the cops got their victim, the fighting spirit of the students was rekindled

SCABS

At first, our policy towards ^{non-}striking students was one of hope. We tried all kinds of methods to educate them and get them to join the strike. We discouraged strikers from attacking the scabs because it would shift the focus of the fight from the administration to other students. However, after two months of trying to win them over, we made the estimate that the 15-20% left were hardcore scabs and were beyond education. We felt that in order to close the school, these scabs had to be dealt with. We discussed this question in the mass meetings, making parallels to labor strikes and how workers deal with strikebreakers. It was pointed out that many could not be won--the "Hayakawa Youth," the rugged individualists -- and they would have to pay the price for breaking the strike. (NOTE: see leaflet on scabs in the chronology) It was only natural, therefore, that changes were going

to be made. No one knows from where these changes came, as the Strike Support Committee only "intellectualized" this position and discouraged people from engaging in sinister activities!!! Yet, from some unknown quarters, things began to happen. About two dozen stink bombs have been set off, emptying various buildings. The library is in a state of disrepair. Most of the books are piled up on the floor and those that are in the stacks are found to be shelved according to a foreign system (according to COLOR rather than Dewey Decimal, said one student). This type of "anti-intellectualism" made it extremely difficult for "serious" students to get in that much-needed book-learning for finals. Many scabs find that as they crawl across campus, two or three people come up and talk to them, or maybe just follow them to class or their cars, or take their pictures for future reference. One day a smoke bomb was set off in the Education Building, probably by some dissident student, that not only melted the nearby lockers but evacuated the building with much inconvenience.

Also, lingering for a moment on this subject, it seems that Edward Duerr, Hayakawa's right hand man, had his house firebombed and a Prof. Bunzel, noted reactionary and leading opponent of the strike, found "racist scab" painted on his two cars --in addition to discovering that he had eight flat tires, simultaneously. A meeting, called by a right-wing group called SMART, to form vigilante committees, was broken up by "unknowns" sending the would-be goon squads fleeing in panic. As previously reported, these occurrences came from sources unknown. Suffice it to say that this activity served as an extension of education by other means.

The strike is 100 days old--making it the longest student strike in U.S. history. For these past weeks all segments of the ruling class have been firing salvos at strikers in an attempt to crust the strike. But, everything has been dumped right back in their laps --and then some. None of their tricks, cops, carrots or sticks have even dealt the strike a sizeable setback. On the contrary, we are on the offensive and the enemy is wavering. Visible signs of fissure have begun to appear in the front wall of the ruling class. George Murray's 30-day suspension has run out and Hayakawa hasn't re-suspended him. Instead he offered to transfer him to non-teaching duties. Also, in mid-January, the puppet offered to use his office to try to get amnesty for the strikers. Considering that in most struggles, amnesty is the hardest thing to win and given Hayakawa's political and mental status; this

is a telling indication of how much effect we have had. More astounding was a similar offer made by Mayor Alioto a few days later. Alioto has praised his cops, condemned student militants, made racist comments about the TWLF and tried to break the AFT strike by withholding sanction. Now he has placed himself above the institutions of justice and democracy -- which this country holds so dear-- and offered a deal which would wipe out all misdemeanors on the strikers. In return for this favor, he wanted the sole power to negotiate a settlement with the trustees. Alioto wants to break this strike so badly that he will place himself above the bourgeois legal system to do it. Of course, the TWLF has said NO to all these phoney offers. They have maintained that they will sit down only to IMPLEMENT the demands, not negotiate them.

Mass Arrests

During the first three weeks in January, the Central Committee of the TWLF had made the political estimate that the picket line was an effective tactic. However, they felt escalation was needed to totally close down the school. They proposed that we should hold a rally on the center of the campus and follow that with an action to turn out the "20%". The strategy behind this was 1) to up the price that the administration had to pay to keep the school functioning, 2) to up the price the scabs had to pay (the plan was to turn out the library where the scabs were studying) and 3) assess the strength of the strike.

Early on that day, Thursday, January 23, about 800 students and community people filtered onto the campus, setting up pickets at various buildings. (All such acts had been declared illegal). We knew that the administration wasn't going to take such action lying down, so many students came prepared -- about 100 had 4 foot, 2x2 picket signs, many more had other defense equipment.

The rally began about noon, with those 800 people in attendance. We knew that this was a far cry from the 4000 people we had had in December: the thoroughly repressive atmosphere on the campus since December and the gross intimidation by hundreds of cops, had kept many strike supporters from coming on the campus. Our own fears of the overwhelming police force isolated us, as we failed to re-establish contact with these strikers, focusing instead on consolidating the forces we had.

The rally lasted about 15 minutes before the familiar voice blared from loud-speakers atop the admin. building. "This is an illegal assembly..." The people

held their ground and the cops moved into position, surrounding us on all sides. In a matter of minutes, we were charged by several platoons of pigs and packed into a small circle. With no place to go, a decision had to be made at that moment to stay and get arrested or try to break out. We decided that it would have been a massacre to try to break out (although some tried) and so we stayed for arrest.

But all was not lost. As the cops attacked us, about 200 broke out from the circle. About 100 of them charged up to the library. The dozen cops on the steps were bombarded with rocks and 2x2's and they were forced to flee inside. One cop was injured. Many of the "100" ran into the library, after throwing a trash can through the glass doors. They overturned the card file, knocked books from their shelves and sent scab students fleeing to the exits.

Back down at the speakers platform, 450 people were being arrested. Although it seemed defeating and humiliating at the time, any other action could have proven very adventuristic and resulted in a blood bath. As one old Chinese gentlemen, familiar with rallies and revolutions once said, "Never attack your enemy from a position of weakness." Although his words were not running through our minds at the moment, our weakness and their strength was disputed by no one.

In jail, the spirit was rekindled. The women were the most together. They staged a demonstration when one of their comrades was taken to solitary. The protest was so noisy that the whole jail rocked. The bulls entered their cells to try to beat them, but the women stood up to it and they beat a retreat. They returned with fire hoses to wash them down but again, the women were not broken. Finally, to prevent a riot, the cops returned the girl from solitary. This example probably more than any other, rekindled our commitments to continue the struggle.

After the arrest, Hayakawa said there would be no more mass arrests, because "there are no longer any masses." These hollow phrases were attempts to convince himself that the strike was really broken. However, the next week saw the picket lines re-form. Thursday was called as Community Mobilization Day and the masses reappeared -- 2000 strong and more determined than ever to win the 15 demands. Once again, police terror, administration intimidation - suspension letters went out to those arrested- failed to crush the 3 month old strike.

Throughout the strike, white students at State have begun to realize the political importance of building ties with the working class community. We have walked the picket lines with Kaiser Hospital workers and striking oil workers in Richmond. Many students understand that the demands put forward by striking workers are economic, if not political, rebellions against the capitalist system which oppresses them and super-oppresses Third World people. In the weeks following the mass arrests, students from State, Berkeley, and San Jose State have rallied to support the oil workers strike against Standard Oil in Richmond. There have been two mass mobilizations during which 250-300 students joined the oil workers picket lines.

Many mistaken ideas have surfaced during the course of our support which have hurt our chances of making real ties with the oil workers. Many students came to Richmond to fight cops or stop scab trucks. This, in itself, is not bad. However, when it is done with total disregard for the workers involved it fosters chauvinistic attitudes among students. Students, considering themselves more militant and politically sophisticated, go to fight cops and show the workers where its at. Not only does this give students a poor perspective on the working class, but no worker will develop if someone else is fighting his battles for him.

The Strike Support Committee has taken no official political position toward the working class, but most of our work in the community has been oriented towards building a worker-student alliance. These politics have come in the form of leaflets and in the nature of the work done. Our position has been, throughout the strike, of supporting, not leading, workers struggles. Not to fight cops for them, but to talk to them, to try to develop some political understanding of the working class, and to try to win them to support the TWLF strike. (This isn't to say that we just talk--many students have gone to support the strike and fought with the workers against the goons). Furthermore, our perspective has been to educate students to the leading role of workers in bringing about revolutionary change in this country, and that students must ally with them. Most students will become part of the working class when they leave college, and our aim also has been to develop class consciousness among students.

The oil strike in Richmond has been a testing ground of sorts to see just how serious and capable we are of making ties with the working community.

Things are in motion on college campuses all across the nation. Dozens of militant struggles are taking place at this moment. Most of these struggles are against racism and imperialism. Up and down the state of California, students have followed the example set by S. F. State and called strikes around the issues of Third World Studies and against racism and the class nature of the University. In the Bay Area, San Jose State and Berkeley have gone on strike. Berkeley has been involved in a strike for Third World self-determination for three weeks. During that time, hundreds of students have gone on strike and sent several plain-clothesmen to the hospital. At Mission High School in San Francisco (a predominantly Black and Latino school) Black and Brown students, who had previously been fighting among themselves, united to confront the cops on at least four occasions. They presented the administration with a set of demands for Ethnic Studies, firing of racist teachers, etc.

Other schools in California have rallied to support State by holding one day boycotts, convocations, etc. Some schools like Chico and Sonoma State have had their own strikes. San Fernando Valley State was engaged in a struggle before State, against racism. Many students there have been suspended and over 30 are facing conspiracy charges.

Across the country, colleges are fighting the ruling class. Kent State, Oshkosh, South Carolina State and most recently, Duke, U. of Chicago, Michigan State, and Wisconsin where the National Guard was called to crush a growing mass movement against racism.

As students begin to develop their understanding of state power, of racism and of the need for an alliance with the working class, the struggle will become clearer and their dedication stronger. With this understanding, "protracted struggle" ceases to be rhetoric and becomes a fact of life. Prophetically, Mao's statement has become reality for American students over the last few years as thousands of us are beginning to "dare to struggle, dare to win."

This section contains leaflets written by the Strike Support Committee and others written by workers in support of the strike at State. We put forward the position that the key to victory in the strike was winning support from the working community-those people in whose interests this strike was being waged and who have the real power to make basic changes in our society. We attempted to reach these people with leaflets, forums, press releases and radio talk shows to combat the distorted reporting of the press. Our aim was to let them know that we were not fighting for student power - but to make the university serve working people, Third World and white, rather than the corporate bosses, to develop an understanding of racism as a tool the ruling class uses to divide people and keep them fighting among themselves.

The first leaflet was issued to the community, the second to students to explain what we mean by a worker-student alliance, the third and fourth by Phone workers and ILWU members.

1 FIGHT RACISM IN THE SCHOOLS AND ON THE JOB

The news has carried sensational and distorted "terror" stories about the student strike at San Francisco State College. The minimal damage (one broken window, a typewriter, a few desks, and waste-basket fires) was not done out of a lack of respect for the workers who built and support the school with their tax money. Rather, the broken window occurred out of the same frustration which caused the LA Hearst-Examiner workers to break windows at the plant there. If the college were on our side, if the employers were on our side, there would be no need for violence anywhere. However, the college, like the company, is not interested in student and working class needs, and is trying to make students into non-thinking "cogs" who will go along with the brutal treatment of Black people, the low wages of working people, and wars which benefit none of us. When the college made a direct attack on the Black Studies Program it was depending on the apathy and racist attitudes of the student body to back it up. We would like to explain why we chose to fight against this attack.

What Is The Issue of The Strike?

George Murray, Minister of Education of the Black Panther Party, was suspended as a graduate student and instructor of English at SF State on Nov. 1, by Pres. Robert Smith and Chancellor Glen Dumke. The Black and Brown Studies Program is threatened. We see this as a racist attack.

Murray organizes around a program that calls for full employment, decent housing, education that teaches the true history of Black people in the U.S., an end to police brutality and murder, and the right of Black people to defend themselves against racist attacks. This is a program to change the present system of economic exploitation and racist oppression of Black people in this country. The Black Panther Party he represents grew out of a need for organized self-defense against the continual police brutality, the latest example of this being the murder of truck driver George Baskett by Michael O'Brien. O'Brien is a member of the same police force which is used to break strikes.

The Black Panthers have been condemned by many people for advocating that Black people have the right to armed self-defense and to win their liberation "by any means necessary". We support this right for all oppressed people and see that it is the initial violence by this society toward Black people which has made armed defense a necessity and not a choice. It is a fact that this system uses any means necessary (including violence) to prevent Black and working people from changing the conditions of their lives. When Black people begin to change their lives they are not a threat to the white student or working man and woman, but only to the business interests who control the wealth of the country. When we refuse to support Black people fighting for their rights out of fear or confusion, we are actually strengthening the position and power of the corporations over us all.

Who Is Threatened By Black and Brown Liberation?

Black and Brown people who advocate a struggle for their rights have been increasingly attacked by the cops and by every government official from Nixon to Reagan down to college administrators like Smith and Dumke. This is because they threaten the economic interests of the small but powerful minority which runs this country and controls the cops and the government.

The members of the college's Board of Trustees are the people who directly control the school. They are appointed by the governor and represent the same big business interests that he represents. An example is Trustee Dudley Swim who is a member of the Board of Directors of the giant Del Monte Corp. This corporation makes huge profits by paying Black and Mexican-American farmworkers \$1.50 an hour, subjects them to inhuman living conditions, and forcibly fights their attempts to unionize. When Black and Brown people organize to fight this exploitation they directly threaten the profits of these Trustees and their corporations, who would like to keep these people uneducated so they will be a source of cheap labor. The university, which trains students

to become managers and efficiency experts, expects students to remain separate from and opposed to working people. Above all, the university tries to keep black students and white students fighting each other so they do not get together and fight the real enemy - the Board of Trustees and the big corporate interests.

We Must Fight Racism

Like the Trustees, the corporation bosses use racism as a divisive tactic. When workers go on strike, bosses often use the threat of hiring unemployed black people for lower wages to misdirect and undermine the strike. This happened in the recent telephone workers' strike when the State Department of Employment hired scabs for the phone company. In strikes where black and white workers unite the bosses always try to split by race in order to destroy the strike.

The bosses know that strikes are a dangerous threat to their interests and they use everything possible including court injunctions and the cops to protect themselves, crying "national interest" and "law and order". When we allow ourselves to be split on the basis of race or student vs. worker we are playing right into their hands. An example of the strength workers have when they unite is a recent strike by garment workers in New York City. Eight hundred Latin, black and white workers united against both the company and their corrupt union leadership, stood up against the cops, scabs, and injunctions, and won every demand.

We must begin to take these lessons beyond our own schools and shops to realize that in order to make basic changes in the profit making nature of this society, black and white students and workers will have to unite and organize a mass, independent movement against racism and exploitation.

WHAT IS COMMUNITY SUPPORT?

We have been striking for 12 weeks. We've come a long way in that time. We've learned much about the class basis of racism, the role of offensive violence, protracted struggle, etc. One thing we are picking up on that is extremely important is something called "community support". Just what does that term mean? It doesn't mean we pour out into the so-called community to win their sympathy and get their physical bodies to our picket line. It doesn't mean that we are missionaries set out to educate the "unlearned masses". This is what community support isn't.

What it does mean is a political reality that sees that students must seek allies which have the power to make revolutionary change in this society. That ally is the Third World and white working class. We are struggling to make the university serve the interests of

Through the tools of racism, the mass media, and just plain lies, the rulers have attempted to turn the working class against all progressive struggles that are waged in their interest--like at S.F. State. We must go to the working class with an understanding that the ruling class plays on and builds racism and red-baiting to keep not only workers from struggling against such things as racism, but progressive students divided from workers. We must attack and break down these barriers. We can't do that by just passing out leaflets and telling them "We're fighting for you." We must be able to prove that we have a commitment to the working class by supporting their struggles and by recognizing that politically students need to develop an understanding that the working class is the basic element that will wage the fight for revolutionary change.

Why Ally With The Working Class?

Exploitation of workers (profits) is the basis of this society run by a corporate elite. It is the super-exploitation of Vietnamese people and Third World workers in this country that makes super-profits for the ruling elite. It is only natural that the super-exploited and oppressed people are the first to rebel against the system which keeps them down. White workers are exploited, though not as blatantly. They are faced with speed-ups, layoffs, trying to feed a family on \$100 a week, trying to pay bills, trying to keep ahead of the cost of living, etc. Most workers in this country make under \$8000 a year--try to feed a family of four on that! One worker told an SDS member who was working at a factory last summer, "I work so that I can make enough money to feed myself and my family so that I am healthy enough to go to work the next day so I can feed myself and my family." The life of a worker is one of vicious exploitation where, though he makes profits for his boss, he is just barely able to keep his head above water.

Students can relate to this exploitation because we are going to be part of the working class. We will become highly-skilled and poorly-paid workers in that same system that oppresses Third World and white workers. In another sense, as students we can see that workers are fighting against the same enemy that we are, often for the same reason. Let's look at the nationwide oil strike and check it out against the strike at State. Across the country many of the 60,000 people who went on strike four weeks ago against the great oil monopolies (Standard, Mobil, Shell, and Phillips) are still on strike. Over 300 are walking the picket line at Standard Oil in Richmond. Many State students have gone up to support them. We have found Standard to be much like the Board of Trustees. Standard controls the local newspaper, much of the land in Richmond and has sent the

cops to escort scabs across their lines. Sound familiar? Standard is the largest oil monopoly in the world, it controls the economies of many Third World oil-producing countries--it made over \$500 million in profit last year. Yet it refuses to meet the workers demands which calls for a 72 cent/hour raise over the next three years, plus certain medical benefits for their families. As we have walked the line with the Richmond Oil workers and the Kaiser Hospital workers in December, we have found that our strikes are similar. Many workers support the S.F. State strike, some even wear the strike button. It is clear that Standard Oil, which makes its profit from keeping white and Third World workers divided and down at home also exploits Third World people in Venezuela and Saudi Arabia. This same bastard controls our working class kids from coming to college and taking courses that would politically educate them to the fact that Standard Oil and others are the enemy of the people and have to be removed from power.

We also know that our common enemy has used the same tactics to try to break us. Standard claims that with only 10% scab work force, production is "normal". They have called the cops who have beat and maced people both in Richmond and Martinez (there, a scab truck ran over a picketer). The Standard Oil-run newspaper in Richmond has slandered and lied about the strike and has threatened the strikers by taking their pictures, telling them they were fired, etc.

The strike of the oil workers and the one here led by the TWLF, though waged over different issues, are basically the same anti-capitalist struggles which are waging a vigorous fight against the enemy. Students must begin to build an alliance with the working class by educating their fellow students to the political necessity of developing a working class perspective and by physically joining in the struggles of workers (not organizing them). They must also be able to analyse a worker's struggle and impart political content to that struggle--something most union bosses try to suppress.

THIS IS WHAT WE MEAN BY COMMUNITY SUPPORT--a two-way street with the long and short range objective of building a political understanding of the working class, and allying with it in order to wage a successful struggle capable of defeating racism and the system responsible for it.

SUPPORT THE RICHMOND OIL WORKERS

CAR POOL LEAVING FROM CAMPUS-- WED. JAN 29 AT 12 NOON

THE STUDENT STRIKE

Racism is prevalent everywhere not just at S.F. State College. This isn't only a student battle, but the battle of every worker. Racism is the main way in which American workers are divided among themselves. When white and black workers see each other as enemies only the bosses profit. Racism is used intentionally by big business and its government to guarantee that corporations can continue to make their extra billions profit off the difference in what they pay Black and white workers and to prevent unity among them.

The bigger the company, the more blatant the racism. The Phone Company is the best example of this. One of their plans was to hire Chinese kids recently in from Hong Kong at \$1.00 an hour less than what we get. Not only would they make a fantastic profit in the wage cut, but it would be another way to antagonize the white workers and further racism.

Another example is in their Urban Employment Development Program. The Phone Company has no choice but to have their buildings and equipment located in the heart of the city (where the ghettos are) and cannot use the tactic of runaway shop. Therefore they have been forced to set up this phony program to hire more black people by allowing them to bypass the regular testing requirements. When they get on the job, they make effort to train them properly, and they fire them for not making the grade. Again they are trying to antagonize the white workers who had to take the entrance tests.

The Phone Company is extremely afraid of the struggles in the black community for liberation and is trying to coopt their struggle by letting them think that they are "here to help." But an AT&T spokesman let the cat out of the bag by saying that they "also have more mundane business reasons for the project." "We have a stake in those communities where we provide service." They sure do have a stake--profit.

Violence seems to be a frequently recurring issue in this strike. Working people know where the cops stand in regard to a strike--they are sent there by the bosses and the government officials to crush the strike. They are sent armed, helmeted and club-wielding to brutally attack the students who are trying to defend their right to strike--to fight for justice--and to unite to destroy racism. We recently saw on our strike the attempt to use strike-breakers at several picket lines, workers run down by scab cars, and tac squad in San Jose to protect the scabs and intimidate the strikers.

The students have supported us in the past and walked our lines. Let's give them the

The response of the City to the demands of S.F. State college students for a decent education has been to call out 600 cops from 31 communities. These cops were called out because the Trustees and the SF Power Structure is afraid of the strikers' fifteen demands and the increasing amount of mass support from the people that the strike is gaining. Time and again the police have charged the students' picket lines, forcing the students to defend themselves just as we have had to in the past when attacked by cops or strikebreaking bosses. Last year during the warehouse strike, we would never have won what little we did if there hadn't been a large number of strikers prepared to deal violently if necessary with those companies that tried to operate. Three years ago, the Printers in SF would have been scabbed out if Teamsters and Longshoremen hadn't gotten together on Berry Street one morning to deal violently with strikebreakers.

We were defending our jobs. Self defense is the obligation of all strikers. Don't be fooled by the way the Press overplays the violence of the confrontation at S.F. State. The issue is the fifteen demands of the students and their right to enforce the strike and to defend themselves violently if that is necessary.

The Hearst press (Examiner, Chronicle, Kron) tells working people not to support this strike. Hearst keeps yelling that our tax money goes to support SF state-- but he doesn't stress that these taxes are collected from Black and Brown working people too, whose kids are demanding an end to the racist educational policies of SF State. Hearst wants to get your back up at the kids at State but what the hell has he said about 78 dead coal miners in West Virginia because Consolidated Coal wouldn't obey safety regulations? Why aren't you PO'ed about that?

Hearst has always tried to whip up racist and anti-labor sentiment in his yellow press. For a year he's been using scabs and cops against striking printers at the LA ~~Herald~~ Examiner. Mrs. Millionaires Catherine Hearst is on the UC Board of Regents. The Hearsts have a stake in maintaining the State college system the way it is. That's why Hearst wants you to believe that it is just a minority of students at State who are "causing the trouble" just as he said years ago, it was only "a few agitators" who started the great 1934 General Strike. Will you believe yellow-press scab Hearst-- or will you support this strike? This Strike Is Important Enough To Take Time Off From Work. Join The Rank And File ILWU Contingent at F.F. State College!

THIS IS NOT THE END-- THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES TO GROW

The concept of departmental organizing crystalized relatively late in the strike. From the beginning most people active in the Strike Support Committee realized the need to somehow develop contacts with those students who were not impelled to attend strike meetings. The Committee's first response was to initiate campus wide discussio groups which attempted to educate those attending to the nature and necessity of the 15 demands. The prevelant mood in these discussion groups was an informal one and the format was that of questions and answers on issues relating to the strike. By means of these discussion groups many students became educated to the issues ahd reasons why it was essential for them to play an active role in helping to win the fifteen demands. As the tactics of the strike began to escalate, however, and as the confrontations grew steadily more violent, the question and answer groups began to lose their effectiveness. The enormity of the struggle began to raise problems that brief discussion groups could handle. Classroom organizing, whereby teams of strikers would enter classrooms and a (or demand) class time to discuss the issues of the strike, also became less viable as platoons of police were stationed daily inside the buildings.

After the first Convocation was sabotaged by the administration, a day of campus wide departmental meetings were held to discuss the state of the college. During these meetings visable splits began to occur between pro and anti-strike forces. Strike related issues, such as the firing or refusal or tenure to popular professors because of their participation in the strike, and punitive measures being initiated by unsympathetic professors on striking students, also began to be raised. There was, too, the growing realization by striking students that if the departments were to be shut down after classroom education ceased to be a viable tactic, then the formation of strong , militant department unions was a necessity.

From the first, the classroom was understood to be the focal point of student oppression where liberal capitalist ideology was planted in fertile minds, teaching them bourgeois life styles, grading them one against another and training them to take their place in and maintain a corrupt, degenerate, racist society. Numerous strikers began to realize that at times the student interest in struggling for the TWLF 15 demands could best be explained by challenging the capitalist essence behind the facade of liberal education. Departmental organizing was thus visualized with both immediate and long range goals. First, it was to convince the students within the departments to support the 15 demands and strike against racism and the class nature of the college, second, it was to lay the

groundwork for challenging the perspective of education in the state college system.

The large department caucuses such as English, Psychology, Education, and Art began to call departmental meetings on their own with eye toward establishing unions. Both the Psychology and English caucuses formalized their structure and began to act as spokesmen for the students of their department who were out on strike. Picket lines were set up in front of the appropriate classroom buildings and lists of scabbing professors and TA's were drawn up for later use. The departmental picket lines were found to be an excellent organizational device. Many classmate, who were unclear about the issues or fearful of the consequences of striking, were won over by the persuasive picketers.

Union resolutions were widely circulated throughout the departments. In the "Preamble to the strike resolution of the English Students Union", the ESU declared, "Directly resulting from the TWLF strike, many departments within SFSC have begun organizing student unions, eg. Education, Art, Psychology, Drama. The students of these departments support the TWLF strike, and also seek to initiate more relevant education than we are presently receiving. We realize we must win the strike not only because the 15 demands are essential and just, but because winning will open the way for all students who desire change. In this spirit the English Students Union has been formed and will continue to operate".

In the filtration of the spirit of the 15 demands down to the departmental level the following objectives were considered. 1. To show up the bourgeois orientation of specific curricula and course programs, 2. To attempt to relate the learning experience to contemporary society and to the student's future role within society, 3. To determine the function of the department within the college framework, 4. To expose the nature and uses of grading, 5. To organize students and faculty around the issue of hiring, retention, tenure, and grading.

All these issues considered alone could, indeed, be considered reformist. A greater danger, which must constantly be fought within the unions, is the susceptibility of these issues being looked upon as ends in themselves. In our perspective, they are considered as tactics whereby the students in a specific area of study can be educated to understand the true nature of the state college system—that it serves neither the student nor the community but rather the ruling elite—and the insistence of the Third World that the purpose of self-determination is to meet the needs of their people.

One of the effective tools of the strike has been AGIT-PROP, which has developed out of a core of striking drama department students.

Our drama department is no exception to the historical pattern of creative art students encaging themselves in the monastary-like CA building, proclaiming hermitage from the world, and justifying the indulgent escape with the promise to confront society's problems after they had mastered their craft. SFSC's department has been traditionally conservative, methodically ousting teachers with guts who have tried to emphasize current, experimental theatre. We have watched good teachers exit in silence and with our polite obedience, the old plays and merry musicals have continued to dominate the budget and schedule.

So while it was surprising for some to see active strike support come from the drama students, it was the logical outcome of the slow work and energetic hopes of some of the political students within the department. For over a year some of us had informally tried anti-war agit-prop, and some original plays with political convictions, as well as trying to change curriculum and the students' role within the department. However, the TWLF strike produced for the first time, a real need for our group to exist and the urgency for the group to have some cohesion. Many of us were striking from the beginning, since we supported the demands and the attack on our common enemies. Very quickly we realized the best way we could help organize support would be to use the tool we knew best - the theatrical experience.

Our group had few models of radical theatre to learn from. Our primary aim contradicted all of our past. We wanted to use the theatre to teach. We wanted to teach the facts surrounding the demands, expose the contradictions and the relationships of trustees, cops, administrators, press, etc., as they perpetuated a system that refused to serve all the people. We had to explain the justification of the demands, and moreover, why it was in the students' interests to fight against racism and the class nature of the university.

A secondary aim of our group was to use the agit-prop to direct people toward change. Once we presented facts and arguments to people out theatre concluded with a strong, clear point of view for the audience to accept or reject. Skits had the position that people should support the demands by striking, and that standing together with others and fighting for the demands was the greatest power we had to use in winning. We were also of the opinion that people must participate in defining the direction of their lives and change. The excuse of attending classes because of disagreement with the tactics was not legitimate -- for

the luxury of no opinion or no action to implement your opinion no longer existed. One of the early skits ended with the familiar slogan, "If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem. Where do you stand?"

A third aim of the group was to serve as an example of change. The fact that we were not only talking about alternative ways of living but in a small way had begun to live as that alternative was crucial to our appeal.

Making these aims a reality was not an easy task. Since the first weeks of the strike emphasized "classroom education," we took our skits to the classrooms. Our inclination and our experiences agreed that we had most effect with our own people, other creative arts students. About ten of us would ask permission from the teacher and class to do the skit. We'd perform it, and then use it as a launching point for discussion about the demands.

It was effective because our approach to discussing the strike was different and harder to ignore than leaflets, rallies and posters. Some trust automatically existed, since our faces were familiar to the CA schools semi-community. We had worked, studied and partied with these students. They were forced to acknowledge us and the form through which we spoke.

Further, we knew better than other students what personal parallels could make the demands and the issue of racism comprehensible to them. We also knew the personal cost and sacrifices demanded by striking. It is not as easy to find another theater to act in as it is to read a history book on your own. The nature of drama students' studies is doing and practicing in a plant of facilities. People enjoy some of their classes and need the chance to experiment and rehearse even though they have little imagination or encouragement to apply the skills in new, relevant ways.

Once the administration had banned the 'agitators' from the classrooms, the agit-prop faced a new audience. We performed outdoors to large, unfamiliar crowds. We quickly realized much of our material and style did not work in this new situation. Small, subtle, serious material was not as effective as loud, visual, slapstick skits. Most difficult in the beginning were our encounters in the city parks and streets with non-students. We couldn't fall back on abstract, human ideals, or previous campus issues. We needed facts and political education to effectively counter a public poisoned by the mass media.

However, our best use was to visit other state campuses since theater was somewhat familiar to students and the organizing being done at schools was in the form of informational support rallies. We could march through cafeteries and quads with our flags, instruments, songs, masks to gather a crowd. The agit-prop had the ability to illustrate speakers points and offer entertainment from a speech-flanked platform. Along with our visits to

other schools came our continuous efforts to raise bail money at churches, downtown theaters, dance halls and colleges. Through trial and error we realized which audiences were most sympathetic and ready to listen. Our goal was to combine fund-raising and active support in every audience we chose.

In December we realized our outside work had kept us away from our fellow strikers. We designed a few skits and a musical review, but this function became too impossible without arrest. Mobil chants and music were used to boost spirit on picket lines.

The agit-prop is still in experimental crude phases of developing skill and any definite style. We have tried much and learned more. Several of the skits use techniques of N.Y.'s Bread and Puppet Theatre. A narrator unemotionally relates a simple, short-sentenced story or parable to the accompaniment of flute, drum or selected "noise." Actors move the story through pantomime or a series of tableaux limited to essential gestures. This type of skit usually has a serious tone and concentrates on the universal and ideological aspects of the strike.

Another approach to skits has been comical, slapstick caricatures of the trustees, presidents, cops, and students confronting each other over the familiar issues. These are funny and illuminate politics and the facts of the strike. This type of skit falls prey to appealing to the already committed. Technically these skits are the most mobile and easiest to improvise since characters are one-dimensional and familiar. Clever lines, exaggerated clean movement, signs, masks and factual information make them useful as well as entertaining.

For many students the strike has been the most intense educational experience of their lives. This is certainly true for us. We have witnessed the power of the theatrical experience first hand, as an organizing tool, symbol of spirit, political weapon, fund raiser and morale booster. We have begun to know what works and what to discard. Agit-prop has tried to give "bread" to the people, "bread" to the bail fund, and "bread" to ourselves. This last function should not be overlooked. Nomadic drama students have found a new and vital way to survive because of the strike. Naturally our theater is put aside when we are needed in other ways, but the majority of our time has been put into the development of a new radical theater that can serve the prolonged struggle and its fighters. Most important to realize is that developing the actors skills alone is a luxury we can't afford. Our theater must strive to be good, but we must play many roles if our theater is to speak and serve the people. We must delve into our politics and into what we want to say, translate these debates into politically & dramatically sound sk

ON STRIKE - 100 DAYS

Thursday, Sept. 27

In the wake of the Eldridge Cleaver controversy at the University of California, the California State College Trustees move to have Black Panther Minister of Education George Murray removed from the S. F. State faculty. The Trustees "request" that SF State President Robert Smith place Murray in a non-teaching position.

Tuesday, Oct. 1

Smith, feeling that the time is not right and the situation too explosive, "refuses" to act on the Trustees "request" regarding Murray.

Thursday, Oct. 24

Murray delivers speech at Fresno State College calling for oppressed people to take up a struggle against their slavemasters. The Trustees meeting on the Fresno State campus fires veiled threats at Murray.

Monday, Oct. 28

Black Students Union (BSU), seeing that all proper channels for the implementation of the Black Studies Program have been exhausted, call a student strike as a means of achieving their demands to begin on November 6th. Murray delivers speech suggesting that oppressed students may have cause for armed struggle on campus to protect themselves from racist administrators.

Wednesday, Oct. 30

San Francisco's Mayor Joseph Alioto blasts Murray's Monday speech and has the police Red Squad investigate the matter.

Thursday, Oct. 31

State College Chancellor Glenn Dumke orders Smith to suspend Murray. Smith balks at the order.

Leaflet issued Nov. 1 by SDS

SUPPORT GEORGE MURRAY

Why are the Trustees frantically trying to save us from George Murray? The Trustees, contrary to liberal myths, are not rabid right-wing fanatics, but competent, successful businessmen - like Dudley Swim, member of the Board of Directors of Del Monte Corp. They are successful because they are able to extract super-profits from the labor of Black, Brown and white workers. When George Murray says that Black and non-white people have a right to rebel against being exploited by Dudley Swim and his ilk, he is directly threatening the corporate interests which control the State College system.

Corporation wizards who sit on the Board of Trustees are not there for their health, but to insure that the State Colleges meet their quotas of technicians and apologists to be the cogs in a system designed to serve the narrow interests of the corporate wealth. When George Murray says that students should not serve the oppressors, but fight them, he is a real threat to the role of higher education, that is, the role defined by the corporate interests of the Board of Trustees.

President Summerskill lost his usefulness to the Board of Trustees, for when push came to shove he was not a neutral force, but stood squarely with the Board of

48
Trustees, and students clearly saw this.

President Smith has launched a "sharp attack" against Dumke. He called Dumke's order to suspend Murray, both as a teacher and student, "unprecedented". But what is Smith's plan? To stand up for and defend George Murray's right to fight for self-determination of Black people and the implementation of the Black Panther Party's program?

HELL NO! Smith's got a better plan (with the help of his friend, Benito Alioto) to get rid of Murray -- slander Murray in the local ruling-class press, then alien him with felony indictments, and then fire him. What Smith is doing is pleading with the Trustees for more time so he can do a more efficient hatchet job. He is counting on student apathy, and fear of the Black Liberation Movement to mitigate any reaction against Murray's dismissal (note Smith's memo of earlier this week on unmentioned perpetrators of campus violence).

Despite Smith's rhetoric, his position is quite clear. He is trying to make us believe that he is a "liberal", that he is a "neutral", that he is fighting the conservative Trustees and "leftist extremists" who are out to "destroy the university". He will tell us that he fought hard to retain Murray, but that it is "out of his hands". He will tell us that his decision is an administrative one.

SDS sees any attempt to investigate, suspend, or fire Murray as an act of racism, not an administrative decision. The suspending of Murray means that the Trustees consider those who speak and act for Black Liberation, criminals. This comes as no surprise since Black Liberation directly threatens the exploitative corporate interests of the Trustees and the whole system in general.

In an issue involving racism, there are no "neutrals" and no "liberals". SDS urges white students to take note of Smith's position and not to be fooled. Smith is the local representative of corporate wealth in this state, indeed the country. Thus, he is no "neutral" but objectively carries out the policies of a certain class that aims to smash the Black Liberation Movement.

The vast majority of white students have objectively no interest in common with the Board of Trustees and its racist policies which Smith represents. We must recognize the nature of the university and what Smith is doing and oppose the pending firing of Murray. SDS urges white students to act according to their own interests and the interests of the vast majority of the people in this country, and fight this racist act.

Friday, Nov. 1

Smith, waiting until the campus is virtually cleared for the weekend, orders Murray suspended.

Monday, Nov. 4

BSU calls a press conference re-iterating their demands and a call for the strike to begin on Nov. 6. SDS calls a mass meeting of all interested white students to muster support for the BSU strike and demands.

Tuesday, Nov. 5

Stokley Carmichael addresses Third World students suggesting confrontation politics to heighten the contradictions within American racist institutions. White students begin to organize around the strike.

Wednesday, Nov. 6

THE STRIKE BEGINS. Students picket buildings, enter classrooms to argue with and try to convince the strike-breakers, and hold a rally culminating with a march on the Administration Building to get a statement from Smith. Smith states that he is too busy and doesn't have the time to face the students at this time. Concurrently the Third World students dismiss all classes one by one, disrupting those classes resisting. The S. F. Police Tactical Squad is called to maintain "law and order". But the students have established just law and order by closing the school.

Thursday, Nov. 7

Students continue picketing and classroom education. Noon rally ends with a march through the halls of classroom buildings by hundreds of strikers chanting "On strike, shut it down!" Classes are effectively disrupted. Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) adds five demands to strike goals.

Friday, Nov. 8

The strike grows. Most departments report attendance below 50%.

Monday, Nov. 11

Holiday. Strikers continue to organize.

Tuesday, Nov. 12

Students continue to picket and classroom educate despite Smith's hard line about classes being interrupted. An arbitration board is suggested by a strike-breaking Department Chairman. The TWLF reply, "No arbitrations, the demands are non-negotiable." Two students, discovering the Tactical Squad is occupying the boiler rooms on campus, are arrested.

Wednesday, Nov. 13

The strike continues to grow. Discussion groups are formed all over the campus. At noon the Tactical Squad appears in front of the BSU office and stands in formation intimidating students. Students hail Tac Squad with rocks, dirt clods, food, and wood. Tac Squad break formation and indiscriminately start clubbing students. Students fight back, liberating prisoners. Cops then draw guns and withdraw from campus. Tac Squad reappears ten minutes later and are forced off campus by 2000 strikers. Students and faculty demand that Smith close down the college. Smith closes campus indefinitely.

Monday, Nov. 18

Smith is ordered by Trustees to open the campus immediately. Smith asks all students to come to campus to engage in Departmental meetings to discuss the issues.

Tuesday, Nov 19

Smith addresses students and faculty. His decision to reopen is rejected by students and faculty. Faculty calls for a Crisis Convocation to resolve the issues. Smith declares school will open Wednesday.

Wednesday, Nov. 20

Some classes reopen as Convocation goes on in hostile atmosphere. BSU-TWLF agrees to participate in Convocation as an educational tactic. Campus occupied by 200 plainclothes police and Tactical Squad in boiler rooms.

Thursday, Nov. 21

Classes and Convocation continue. BSU-TWLF demand that Smith suspends classes to establish a atmosphere of good faith for Convocation. Smith refuses and striking students walk out of Convocation. Thousands of strikers march through buildings, closing down classes. Plainclothesmen attempting to stop the action and arrest leaders are hassled by strikers. Tac Squad appears to protect empty buildings on a closed campus.

Friday, Nov. 22

Alioto proposes negotiations. Academic Senate suggests Department meetings to discuss possibility of another Convocation. Smith cancels afternoon classes for Department meetings. Departments call for Convocation with no classes to be held and immediate withdrawal of all cops from the campus.

Leaflet issued Nov. 25 by the Strike Committee

RELY ON THE PEOPLE -- BUILD THE STRIKE!

A "crisis" convocation is being held based on the proposal put forward by President Robert Smith. The faculty passed a proposal to have a three day convocation beginning today, ending Wednesday, with classes called to resume on December 2. The focus of the discussion will revolve around the question of the fifteen demands put forward by the BSU-TWLF.

The convocation has positive and negative aspects. The positive aspect is that the issues became so clear during the last convocation that when Smith was confronted with the first demand he hemmed and hawed for 20 minutes and never replied directly. Thousands of students saw that Smith avoided the issues and avoided the 15 demands. He exposed himself through these actions as a puppet of the Board of Trustees and the corporate interests they represent.

Although the convocation has a positive aspect, the negative aspects should not be overlooked. The convocation, while it may be a good discussion will never by itself win the 15 demands. The Third World students on campus have continually pointed out that it is only through protracted struggle against the administration and the Board of Trustees that the demands will be won. The administration sees this convocation as a week long cooling off period. They make this obvious by calling for classes to begin next week whether the demands are met or not.

The faculty has played a dual role in this strike. On one hand, many faculty members took a positive step by going out on strike and trying to win other faculty members to join them. But, on the other hand, the faculty has seen itself as a buffer zone between the administration, its cops, and striking students. We see this as an untenable position. In this strike one must clearly take either the administration's

51
side or the side of black and Third World liberation. When professors stopped students from fighting the cops, although their intentions may have been good, they are objectively taking the side against the strike and for the administration. And, by supporting Smith's plan to resume classes on December 2 whether or not the demands are met the faculty are taking a strike-breaking position. There is also the question of leadership in the struggle.

Certain segments of the faculty have tried to impress on students that they (the faculty) will resolve the issues of the strike. This says that 1) the faculty has the power to resolve the conflict and 2) they see themselves in the leadership position. Both of these hypotheses are wrong.

Students should realize that their power flows from the strength of the people involved in the struggle. It is this attitude, relying on ourselves, that will win. Winning will not come from relying on the faculty or administration. The faculty must be won to the idea that they must unite with white students supporting the Third World demands.

Also, the idea that some faculty members believe they are in a position to lead students in this fight must be defeated. The BSU-TWLF are in the leadership of this struggle. The position for the faculty and other white students is to support the demands. They, along with white students, must take the offensive in fighting racism among other white faculty, white students and in the white community.

Monday, November 25

BSU-TWLF approved convocation (televised to the community) begins while Trustees meet in Los Angeles to discuss the S. F. State crisis.

Tuesday, November 26

BSU-TWLF call an end to convocation when letters of suspension are received by some striking students. In Los Angeles Smith submits his resignation to the Trustees. Smith's reason for resigning - "an inability to resolve issues amidst the various political pressures." A half hour later the Trustees name S. I. Hayakawa to be their new lackey. Hayakawa orders the campus closed.

Wednesday, November 27

Students and faculty in defiance of Hayakawa's "closed campus" order occupy the campus to organize the strike and denounce Hayakawa.

Leaflet reprinted several times by SDS research committee

DUDLEY SWIM -- WHO ARE YOU?

an economic description and political analysis of the trustees and regents.

The Trustees suspended George Murray. Murray is a spokesman for Black Liberation. He teaches that Black and Third World people must resist their oppressors by any means necessary. The Trustees and Regents who came down on Eldridge Cleaver's head see these two men as a threat to the universities. Why? Because it is the Trustees

and Regents who define what the role of a university should be, how it should be run and what interest it should serve. Murray and Cleaver are indeed a threat to their hoarded wealth. So too, a threat are the Vietnamese, Latin Americans, and African people who have taken up the gun in the name of Liberation to fight against those economic powers that are materially oppressing them.

Just who are these men, what are the interests they have and why is the cry of liberation of oppressed peoples a threat to them? On the Board of Trustees sit at least 6 bankers, 4 of which represent banks with total assets of \$38 billion and profit (from banking ventures alone) of \$224 million. One bank, the Bank of America, has investment holdings all over the world, including South Africa. In this country the big banks function as tyrannical slum lords who are constantly driving people from their homes.

Also sitting as a policymaker of our colleges is Catherine Hearst, wife of Randolph Hearst, president of the Hearst Publishing Co. It is Hearst who publishes the Los Angeles Examiner, a paper whose employees went out on strike last year. The constant cry of violence was of no concern to the Trustees and Regents when the Examiner brought in scabs to break the strike or when they called the cops to beat and gas the strikers. This was simply a case of "protecting their interests" from law breakers.

There is a Mr. McLaughlin on the Board of Regents who operates South American copper mines, getting rich off the tortuous toil of the people of Chile and Argentina.

Sitting in judgment of the Board of Trustees is Earle Jorgenson, a director of the Transamerica Corporation. Transamerica has assets of \$2,928,000,000. Last year it made \$68,212,000. in profits. Some of those profits came at the expense of the Bay Area Theatre Janitors who have been on strike against United Artists (which is owned by Transamerica) for the past 6 months. The janitors are striking for a decent wage, one that can at least keep pace with the rising cost of living.

Then, of course, there is Dudley Swim. Not only is he a Trustee but he sits on the Board of Directors of Del Monte Corp., the 168th largest industry in the U.S. Del Monte did pretty good last year in the profit department clearing \$27,250,000. This wouldn't have been possible hadn't there been Third World people forced to pick the lousy fruit down in the San Joaquin Valley for \$1.25 an hour. We say forced because they don't have the educational background to get better jobs. It's only "good business" that Swim makes educational policies that exclude any appreciable numbers of Third World people from getting into college.

Also making profit and policy is Trustee George Hart. He is director of Babcox-Wilcox, the 141st largest U. S. industry, General American Transportation Corp., which made \$26,700,000. in profits last year, Liberty Mutual (Swim is also a director), Bank of San Rafael, Association of Investors of Northern California, and Boston Manufacturers Mutual Insurance Co. When George Murray says Black people must arm themselves and resist their oppressors, Hart cringes.

William Roth is a Regent and among other things is a director of Crown Zellerbach (\$914,000,000. in assets, \$46,727,000. in profits for 1967) largest paper producer in the U. S. This company adds to its coffers and to the stability of apartheid in South Africa by investing much capital there.

Samuel Mosher, a Regent, is the oil tycoon of the bunch. He is chairman of Signal Oil which rapes the ground of Venezuela for its oil. The Venezuelans, though they break their backs in the fields, see little of the fruits of their labor. Mosher also is the vice-president of the American Independent Oil Co. which steals oil from Saudi Arabia. To give the reader an indication of how Aramco keeps 85% of the total profits, King Feisal keeps 15% and the 6 million people of Saudi Arabia keep nothing.

James Thacher is a Trustee. He is also a lawyer. He used to work for the Sullivan and Cromwell law firm. So Sullivan & Cromwell was John Foster Dulles' outfit. This law firm handles accounts for big corporations. During the 1930's it was instrumental in placing American capital in the service of German industrialists financing and rearming Hitler through the firm of J. Henry and Schroeder & Co.

Charles Luckman, a Trustee, is a multi-million dollar architect-developer-constructor. He has designed and built strategic military bases in Spain and Thailand. Disneyland Hotel, CBS-TV City, Convair Astronauts missile and space facility, Perhaps his greatest achievement was designing and building Bunker Hill Redevelopment Project in L.A. which pushed many Black people from their homes.

Though our research is far from complete, we could go on. We know that of just more than half the Regents and Trustees researched, they control or represent firms with aggregate assets of \$46,500,000,000. and profits (1957) of \$930,832,000. Among the wealth that sits on those boards are representatives of at least 6 banks, 3 newspaper chains, 2 oil companies, 3 aircraft manufactures, 2 shipping lines, 3 airlines, a half dozen real estate and insurance companies, half the food packing industry (Hunt and Delmonte) several chain stores (Broadway Hale and Neiman Marcus) and 2 giant

The monopoly capitalists and their firms which control our universities have but one thing uppermost in their minds-- that is to maintain their economic and political position. They do this in the U. S. by exploiting Black, Third World and white laborers and abroad by exploiting Third World people in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Their profits are maximized and their positions secured by instilling racial hatred among white and Black workers, white and Black students. This keeps the oppressed peoples of all colors fighting each other rather than uniting against their common enemy-- the monopolists. It is good business to keep these people in their place and it is good business for the universities to train students willingly or unwillingly to serve their interest. It is when George Murray stands up and says Black people must fight the oppressors that their profits are threatened. The Trustees will use "any means necessary" to break strikes and to stop Liberation Movements in places like Venezuela and Watts.

To believe in the Liberation of oppressed peoples is to oppose their oppressors. The Trustees and Regents are the oppressors having a vested interest in maintaining that role. But students have no vested interest in opposing Liberation. In fact, we are hurt by submitting to university training which fills us with racist ideology designed to keep Black people down. We can build a movement only when we strive to achieve liberation of all oppressed people, if we fight the racism of the oppressor which is built into the school system. We must take the stand with the Black students in supporting the right to self-determination by striking.

Thanksgiving Holidays -- Strike organizing continues.

Monday, Dec. 2

Hayakawa reopens the campus with a hardline "state of emergency" and 650 cops to maintain fascist law and racist order. Hayakawa attacks strikers' sound truck parked off campus, assaulting students, ripping out speaker wires and inciting to riot by littering the streets with "blue armbands" which were being passed out to students supporting Hayakawa's position. Rally is followed by marches on police occupied classroom buildings resulting in a massive confrontation between thousands of striking students and 650 cops.

Leaflet issued by Strike Committee on Dec. 2

WARNING--- BEWARE OF FANATICS MASQUERADE AS COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

This morning a fanatic bearing a striking resemblance to our dignified president of the month, Hayakawa, viciously attacked the strike sound truck on 19th Ave. This unbalanced individual tore loose the speaker wires and began passing out mimeographed sheets with blue ribbons attached. At first we thought they were prizes for creative broadcasting. The paper turned out to be on the semantics of strike-breaking and the

blue ribbon a booby prize for right-wing flunkies.

When it was pointed out that the man had no business being on a student's truck, the poor fellow started shoving students and screaming, "Don't touch me, I'm the president of the college." In the interest of safety on campus we demand that such fruitcakes be removed at once. That goes as well for the club-swinging, blue-suited Napoleans which the press so rightly denounced yesterday for their brutality in Chicago.

Tuesday, Dec. 3

Picket line formed by 30 students at classroom building is routed by 40 club-swinging Tac Squaders. Picketers are chased into student Commons where students are indiscriminately hassled and clubbed. At noon rally Third World community leaders speak in support of strike. March on classroom building is met with 650 cops. A bloody two-hour battle ensues between students and cops. Chicago repeats itself on the S. F. State campus. Hayakawa summing up the day, stated that the day was his "most exciting day since he rode a roller coaster on his tenth birthday."

Wednesday, Dec. 4

Black community leaders meet with Hayakawa and denounce him. Hayakawa walks out. Third World community leaders march on campus in support of strike and join rally. Thousands of strikers march off campus to build community support for the strike. Community people picket Hall of Justice in protest of police on campus. Strikers picket City Hall in protest of police on campus. Strikers picket City Hall in protest of the same.

Thursday, Dec. 5

Noon rally with many working people from the Third World communities (mothers from Hunters Point, etc.) ends with a march led by Third World community people and students on the Administration building to confront Hayakawa. This march is met by cops with drawn guns and mace protecting Hayakawa's office. A confrontation ensued resulting in the arrest of more students. The confrontation is carried to the streets tying up traffic in front of campus for 45 minutes.

Friday, Dec. 6

The strike is one month old. Hayakawa, in an effort to squelch growing community support, meets about $1\frac{1}{2}$ demands. The Strikers and community meet Hayakawa's deal with cries of "Bullshit, bullshit, bullshit!" Strikers and community people march off campus in solidarity chanting, "We'll be back, we'll be back, and once again march at City Hall.

Saturday, Dec. 7

The Strike Committee hold a community rally at City Hall attended by several thousand strikers and supporters. The rally is followed with a march through downtown to S. F. Chronicle & Examiner building to protest racist, distorted coverage of the strike.

Sunday, Dec. 8

Third World community holds a rally at City Hall in support of the strike.

Monday, Dec. 9

Campus still occupied by 650 cops. Following noon rally and march on classroom building, a confrontation ensues in the rain. The police try a new tactic - mounted police in cavalry formation.

Tuesday, Dec. 10

Heavy rain forces rally indoors followed by a march off campus to build more community support. In a press conference the BSU-TWLF declares war on those forces controlling the college.

Wednesday, Dec. 11

Students walking picket lines attacked several times by Tac Squad. At noon rally 200 police surround strikers and wade in to arrest one strike leader in center of crowd. Students wearing blue armbands and wielding blackjacks attack striking students; when soundly trounced by the strikers, they ran behind the police lines.

56

Thursday, Dec. 12

Once again Tac Squad attacks picket line. As solidarity march leaves campus, cops attack and club students. Students stone the buildings and the cops.

Friday, Dec. 13

Tac Squad runs into picket line to arrest strike leaders. Hayakawa closes campus one week early for Christmas vacation to avert show of community support called for Monday, Dec. 16.

Dec. 14 - Jan. 5 Christmas Holidays

TWLF and Strike Committee take advantage of the "Vacation" (including Hayakawa's "gift" of one week) to continue organizing and building the strike. Significant activities include:

- * In answer to Hayakawa's avoidance of Third World Community Day the TWLF calls for Third World Community Week to be held on campus week of Jan. 6.
- * Rallies, Demonstrations, and Forums held to build Community support for the strike.
- * Statewide support organized at other state colleges, universities, junior colleges and high schools.
- * Strikers carry news of struggle across the nation and gain nationwide support for the strike.
- * S.F. State SDS relates the struggle to the SDS National Council and presents and has passed a proposal calling for a Direction of the Student Movement to be aimed at attacking Racism and the Class Nature of the University.
- * In preparation for Third World Community Week Hayakawa suspends more civil liberties: "Specifically, rallies, parades, be-ins, hootenannies, hoedowns, shivarees and all other events...are hereby forbidden on the central campus." Reagan calls for the college to be kept open "at the point of a bayonet if necessary."

Monday, Jan. 6

The third month of the strike begins with fascist law and racist order maintained by Hayakawa's occupying army of cops as the campus reopens. 3,000 pickets ring campus including hundreds of Third World and white community strike supporters. 300 professors (members of AFT Local 1352) go on strike for their own demands including "Resolution and Implementation of TWLF Demands" and "Amnesty for all involved in fight against Racism."

TA's Union (AFT Local 1928) strikes in support of TWLF Demands. Classroom count shows strike 80 - 85% effective. Late in afternoon San Francisco Labor Council grants AFT Local 1352 Strike Sanction. "Scab Education" teams begin confronting Scab Students and Professors.

Tuesday, Jan. 7

Thousands of Students, Faculty, and Community People continue to picket keeping attendance down to 14%. Clerical, Commons, and Library Workers honor picket line and join the strike. Teamsters honor picket lines and deliveries to college and dormitories stop. A thousand pickets defy Hayakawa's central campus ban and are surrounded by several hundred cops but the "power of the people" breaks through their lines.

The following leaflet issued by the TWLF

NO DEALS - FIGHT AGAINST RACISM FOR SELF-DETERMINATION - GRANT THE 15 DEMANDS FOR TWLF NOW!

The strike at S. F. State began on November 6, 1968. It was called by TWLF. It has been directed by TWLF. It will continue to be directed by TWLF.

After two months of intensive struggle by TWLF and white students to win this TWLF demands, the AFT finally decided to go on strike. This in itself shows the difference in political consciousness between the faculty and students. After the teachers went out, the Labor Council voted to sanction the strike only until the AFT economic demands are met.

We view it as positive that the AFT has finally gone on strike. It must be clear, however, the AFT is, by their own admission, striking primarily for their own demands and only secondarily, under pressure, for the 15 demands of TWLF. Further, it is we the students who have initiated this strike to fight against racism. Because of the strength of our strike the AFT has taken the opportunity to gain some long outstanding demands.

The position of the TWLF has been from November 6, 1968 that the 15 demands are absolutely non-negotiable and the struggle for the demands has been characterized as a struggle against racism and for self-determination. We will fight until these demands are met.

We will not allow our principle to be confused or compromised by campus autonomy, due process or any other issues which do not relate directly to the 15 demands as we have defined them.

Further, we will not compromise the commitment of the thousands of courageous students by allowing the militancy of our struggle to be held back by anyone. In fact, we must be prepared to wage even sharper struggles against the enemy. We must take our inspiration from our working brothers and sisters in the communities - such as the Kaiser Hospital workers who went on strike and attacked the pigs!

WE URGE STRIKERS TO REAFFIRM THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE STRUGGLE! TIGHTEN UP THE PICKET LINES! FIGHT EVEN HARDER AGAINST RACISM AND FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD! THE PEOPLE WILL WIN!

Thousands continue to picket effectively keeping attendance down to 15%. Strikebreaking cops rout picket line to open a path for scabs. A confrontation ensues with students fighting back. Cops call in cavalry and students are chased four blocks by galloping pigs on horses while students shell them with rocks, bottles, etc. Students and Faculty at San Jose State go on strike in support of S.F. State Strike. Informational picket lines set up at other state colleges. Injunction against AFT Local 1352 Strike is issued.

ATTENTION SCABS

WHAT ARE YOU DOING

By crossing the picket line you have consciously or not put yourself in a position against the strike of the BSU-TWLF. This is a strike against racism, both within the individual and the institution. It is a strike that recognizes the right of the oppressed Third World people to self-determination by any means necessary. Also it is a strike that speaks to the minimal needs of Third World people to function in a university. By crossing the line you have made your choice - there is no middle ground.

YOU ARE BEING USED

You are being used by Hayakawa and the Trustees to break the strike. Their position concerning the demands and the principles of the strike is clear - they will use any means necessary to crush it. You are part of those means. In labor struggles the bosses try to break strikes by recruiting scabs to carry on the functioning of the factory. He appeals to the narrow self-interest of the scab - a livable wage, a good job, etc. In this situation the boss (the Administration) has done the same. It has conditioned you to think that the factory must continue to function - further perpetuating its racist and oppressive role toward Third World people. Also it has appealed to your narrow self-interest by constantly pushing the attitude on you that "I have a right to go to school, I want to get my education".

Too many scabs have given lip service to the support of the 15 demands but still go to class. You are either lying or don't know the effect of what you are saying. You say you support the demands but not the tactics used to achieve them. What you really are saying is that you support the right of Third World people to better their conditions, but you don't support their efforts to achieve that better condition. What you really are saying is that you, a scab, know the best way for

Third World students to win their demands. Friend, that is a pretty racist attitude.

But you scabs must realize that this struggle involves more than "your individual 'rights'". It involves the human rights of all oppressed people to function in a university thereby serving the working people in their communities. It also involves the majority of white students who have physically put themselves on the line fighting racism which hurts them and keeps them from uniting with Third World people to fight the common enemy which is the source of all oppression - the corporate class. This selfish individualistic attitude of you scabs, which hurts the majority, yes majority, of students can no longer be tolerated.

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF SCABBING

Despite the crap Hayakawa has been laying on the public, the school has been only 25-30% attended. The Commons workers, the maintenance workers, grounds, etc. have walked off their jobs. But you still have persisted to attend class.

Historically, workers on strike have not dealt so kindly with scabs as we have with you. In the current steel strike in Denison, Texas, the workers are armed and there have been several shoot-outs with scabs. Scabs have been beaten in numerous strikes. Not even police have been able to protect scabs when working people have been fighting for their lives against the bosses.

We students realize that you scabs aren't the real enemy. The real enemy is the administration just like the real enemy of the workers are the bosses. We know that you are being used by the administration, willingly or not, to perpetuate the functioning of a thoroughly decadent, racist institution. Though we know you aren't the enemy, and urge you not to cross the picket line, you are objectively acting as agents of Hayakawa and the Trustees and as such must be dealt with accordingly.

-Issued by Strike Committee 1/8/69

Thursday, Jan 9

Picketing continues effectively paralyzing campus. AFT defies injunction. Cops rout picket line and mace dogs being walked on picket line. Enraged picketers fight back and chant, "Kill the pigs." Scab 'education' continues. Stink bombs clear Library of scabs. Home of Edwin Duerr, Hayakawa's hatchet-man, is fire-bombed.

Friday, Jan 10

Picketing continues with strike more than 80% effective. College and dorms begin to feel effects of supplies being cut off due to Teamsters honoring strike. Scab 'education' continues. Library "book-in" begins by strikers. Some scabs discover slashed tires on their cars.

Monday, Jan 13

Picketing continues with Third World Community Week entering its second week

60

despite heavy rain. Several Third World leaders ripped off picket line by cops. Scab 'education' escalates. "Book-in" continues. Garbage begins to pile up all over campus. Two S. F. State strikers arrested in Richmond while actively supporting the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers strike.

Tuesday, Jan. 14

Picketing continues. Tac squad moves in on picket line to arrest TWLF strike leader and is repelled by fighting strikers. Cops call in reinforcements and one and a half hours later move in to make the arrest, engaging a defensive ring of aggressive fighting strikers. Strikers are clubbed, hassled and arrested in the ensuing confrontation, but cops also suffer several casualties. Stink bombs clear two classroom buildings. Incidence of flat tires rises on campus.

Wednesday, Jan. 15

Picketing continues to keep attendance below 20%. Many toilets stopped up all over campus. The racist Department Chairmen of Political Science and History have their tires slashed and cars painted with the words, "Facist Scab".

Thursday, Jan. 16

Strike continues to be 80-85% effective. Smoke bomb clears Education Building. Bomb placed in Administration Building fails to explode, but effectively stops business for several hours. Toilets all over campus effectively clogged. Scab 'education' and book-in escalate. College is unable to feed dorms, and is forced to pay rebate to residents.

Friday, Jan. 17

Picketing continues to paralyze campus. Loyalist "Hayakawa Youth" have downtown rally, disrupted by strikers and community supporters of strike. Striking San Jose State students, in solidarity with S. F. Strikers, conduct mill-in in their Administration Building.

Monday, Jan 20 through Wednesday, Jan. 22

Picketing continues and strikers organize for a rally on campus on Thursday.

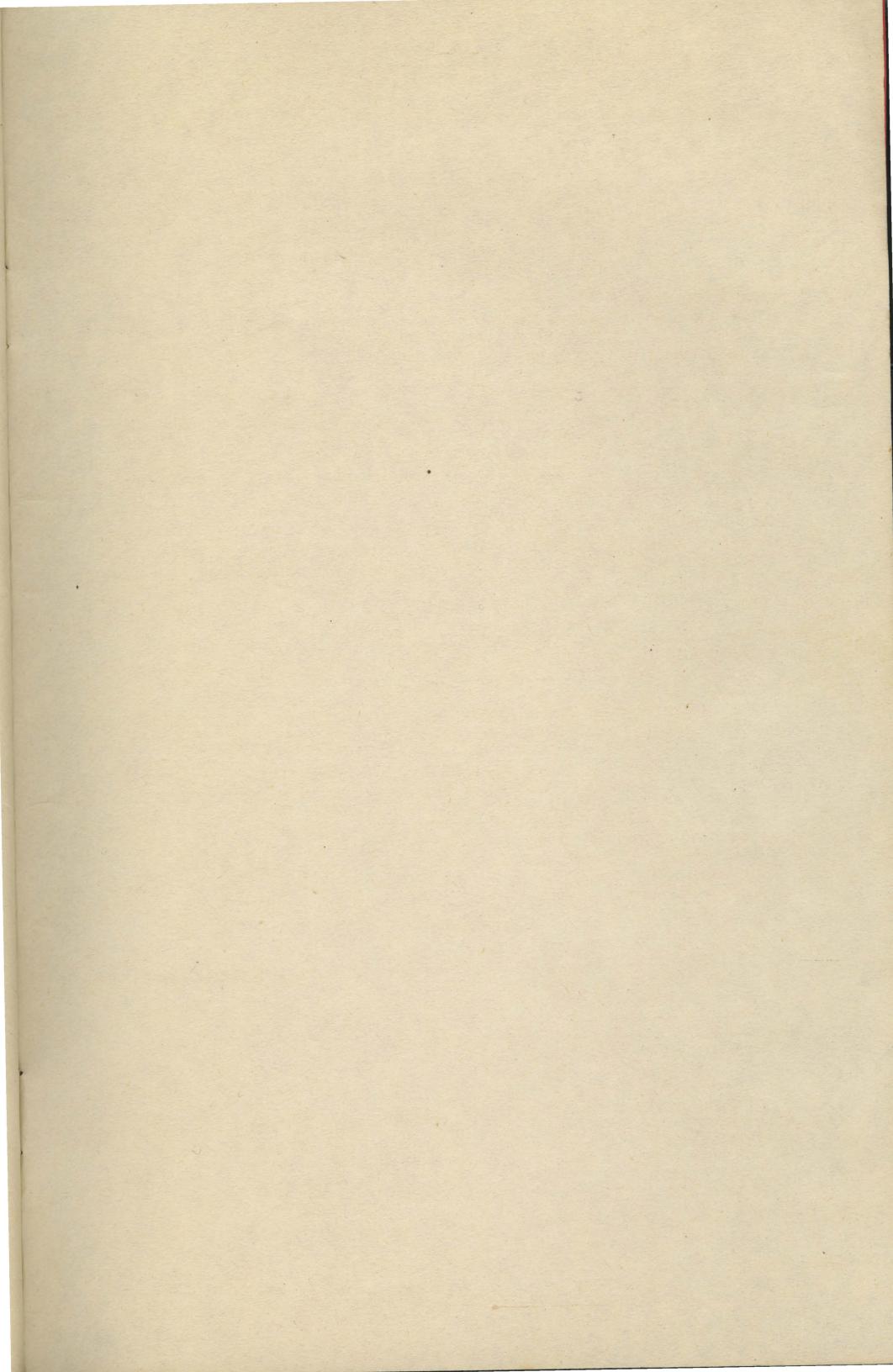
Thursday, Jan. 23

Picketers move on campus to hold a rally of about 1000 people. Police charge and surround it, arresting 450 students and community supporters.

The mass arrest, rather than breaking the strike as the Administration and cops hoped, has greatly increased the determination of the strikers to fight and defeat those who will go to all lengths to maintain racism. In its fourth month the TWLF-called strike continues to build and grow. Strikes are continuing and threatening at most campuses of the State College system. Berkeley has called a TWLF strike. Administrators at S. F. State have been forced to institute a Pass/No Report grading system to keep 80% of its students (strikers) from flunking out. The campus has been paralyzed by TWLF strike and it is clear that the struggle will continue until the fifteen demands of the TWLF are met.

Thursday, Jan. 24 through Feb. 16

The strike continues with two thousand people joining the picket line on Thursday Jan. 30. -- Striking teachers refuse to turn in grades--- Final exam period is wrecked with scabbing teachers giving take home exams or none at all. The 450 arrestees appear in court Jan. 31 and disrupt proceedings by singing, chanting, etc. Tac squad outside courtroom readied for action. --- two people busted. State students migrate to Richmond to support striking oil workers. Over a hundred joined their picket line on Monday, February 3. Hayakawa begins sending out pre-suspension letters to all those busted on January 23. Plan to the strikers is to register for class, use first few days to re-establish contact with those who support the strike but haven't been active and then pick up where things left off and SHUT IT DOWN.





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